

**CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT OF SUBURBAN CITIES
IN THE BOSTON METROPOLITAN REGION**

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Connecticut College
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Submitted to the
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING
at the

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ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades a new "sub-urban" form has emerged in suburbs across the nation. These areas contain sprawled out offices, retail malls, industrial parks and car lots, and are often referred to as "edge cities," "urban villages" and "growth centers." Today, there is a concern about these areas and the recognition that something needs to be done to contain this sprawl. Concentrated development is a regional strategy and a physical form that attempts to address the future of our suburbs, as well as the problems of traffic congestion and air pollution. As a strategy, it targets certain areas within a region for development. As a form, it creates a pedestrian-friendly environment with a mix of housing, retail and office uses that are serviced by public transportation. This concept of concentrated development provides a sounding board to envision new suburban environments.

This thesis attempts to answer the central question — how could concentrated development be achieved? To answer this question, this study examines three suburban areas in the Boston metropolitan area that are prime for concentrated development from a regional perspective. At the local level, the three cases are planning their growth differently. One — the top-down approach — resisted becoming a concentrated development center. Another — the bottom-up approach — is gearing up to attract and concentrate development. And the third — the intermunicipal coalition approach — involves two towns that are working together to manage their growth. The study explores the different methods, processes, approaches, tools and attitudes in the planning process of each case to identify ways that concentrated development could be approached and implemented in the future.

This analysis revealed that subregional planning entities would be needed to envision, manage and govern concentrated development. These entities would first need to be empowered by the state and would consist of public and private representatives from municipalities in and around major growth areas. These entities would most likely be accepted by people at the local level because of a shared interest in the future development of these growth areas, and because individuals would be directly involved in the planning process. This analysis further indicates that regional planners would need to work closely with the representatives in the subregional bodies and people in suburban communities to understand what is important to them about the growth in their communities and to educate them about the benefits of concentrated development.

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INTRODUCTION

In his book, Edge City: Life on the New Frontier, Joel Garreau writes that "Edge City puts people on edge. It can give them the creeps." But, he acknowledges, edge cities are a result of us, and our preferences or demands. "I have met the enemy. And he is us." [Garreau 1991: xxii, xxi] Given that our suburbs are rough around the edges, there is a need to reevaluate what we value and what is valuable about our suburban communities, while recognizing the current state of many suburbs.

There has been relatively little regional planning of development in American metropolitan regions over the past fifty years. In the absence of such planning, a sprawling suburban development pattern has emerged since World War II, whereby land uses such as housing, shopping and offices are now dispersed and separated. These sprawled out land use patterns disregard our natural environment and result in higher costs for infrastructure, transportation and public services while consuming more land and energy. [Hanson 1992, Havens 1992, Peiser 1989] Linked by a hierarchical road system, these separated land uses have also increased dependence on the automobile. The result of this continuous sprawl "is a relatively low-density, almost uniform network of urbanization moving out over the landscape, punctuated by agglomerations of a much higher intensity and difference in function." [Rowe 1991: 28]



1. Suburban sprawl in Burlington, MA

These agglomerations, or regional employment and commercial centers in suburban cities, sprouted in the early-1970s to mid-1980s. As Richard Tustian describes, these areas ". . . have clusters of economic/job linkages, but not social/community linkages. They don't have a physical and design cohesion that fosters a sense of well-being. They sprawl, they're not pedestrian friendly, and they make people use the auto to make connections. They're cities in one dimension only — they have a stomach providing jobs and economic life, but they have no head or heart." [Hamblen 1992: 17] Encouraged by market pressures, bolstered by major roadways and shaped by low-density land use regulations for single uses, these centers have further uprooted the traditional home/work balance within communities, generated impacts beyond municipal boundaries and created a need for more regional planning. [Hanson 1992, Levine 1990, Weaver 1987]

Today, the timing may be right for more regional planning and the exploration of suburban design alternatives to sprawl. First, there are a number of pressures pushing to reexamine existing suburban development patterns. The quality of life in the suburbs is declining, concerning residents, practitioners and others who want to restore a higher quality of life with more sense of community. Cars and sprawl dominate the suburb, creating what Roberta Feldman and Martin Jaffe call, "a placeless and faceless contemporary American suburb." [Feldman and Jaffe] Suburban traffic congestion has increased, and there is a general distaste for pedestrian-unfriendly suburban malls and office parks — and their "unsightly" car lots. There is also a growing home/job imbalance whereby housing that is affordable to local residents and jobs that tap the skills of those residents do not match. This home/job imbalance increases the length of the home/work trip, enlarges the area in which people have to live and further adds to the traffic congestion. [Cervero 1989, 1991] Partly due to the rise of telecommunications and cheaper land costs outside of centers, jobs are becoming more decentralized, increasing dependence on the car and making it difficult to support public transportation. In addition, the federal government mandated air quality standards that must be met by violating cities over the next few years. These air quality standards are linked with state transportation plans, requiring each state to prove its transportation plan will improve air quality. ¹

¹ In 1993, Massachusetts will have to determine a state policy to meet federal air quality standards. In drafting its air quality policy, Massachusetts could examine the opportunities of concentrated development and look to such state growth management policies as Oregon's that has attempted to make the land use, transportation and air quality connection. A discussion of Oregon's policy follows in *Prospects of Concentrated Development*.

Second, there are a number of opportunities. Many of the suburban centers built in the 1950s and 1960s are beginning to decay and are being rebuilt, allowing for turnover of property ownership. Mixed-use development, including different types of housing, is highly favored by current public policy, and may provide an alternative development form in the reconstruction of these centers. [Urban Land Institute 1991] States are concerned about "transportation catch-up" — the need to focus on transportation infrastructure and "catch-up" to changing needs and the burst of development that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. States are further recognizing that transportation plays a key role in regional economies, and that local municipalities need to be involved in the planning process of transportation alternatives. Recent federal transportation legislation, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act [ISTEA], supports these concerns and acknowledgments. [see *Appendices*, p 86] ISTEA, for instance, focuses more on transit than any federal transportation legislation before, emphasizes local involvement in the planning process, and provides money — comparable to that allocated for highway projects — for both planning and capital projects. There is also a growing awareness that regionalism empowers localities: localities can collectively make decisions about development that will impact their region, rather than depend on the decision of one community that may benefit from the development. [Gakenheimer et al 1990] And finally, while in a slow economy, there is also the time to plan, identify areas where future development could be invested soundly, and adopt regional strategies that address the possible inequities of focusing development in one area over another.

Third, there are a number of demographic changes. The number of two-income households keeps rising and job turnover is more frequent, such that a central residential location accessible to many job locations becomes attractive. The population is also getting older, creating a need for different living and community spaces.

The costs of sprawl and the changing times, demand that we evaluate our current development patterns. Concentrated development — directing resources to form a mixed-use pedestrian-friendly environment that offers a variety of transportation options— can provide an alternative living environment to sprawl while managing our resources and growth more responsibly. In shaping concentrated development, a larger vision of regional commercial centers is needed. Peter Rowe frames this challenge, "It is only by recognizing the middle landscape as a real locus of growth and innovation in our society, rather than trying to make it in the manner of somewhere else, that progress will be made." [Rowe 1991: 291] Joel Garreau seconds this challenge and argues that the next life of

these suburban centers "is going to be about the issues such as civilization, soul, identity, community, the very things that we know and treasure and love about the old cities, and the things we know are absent from the new ones." [Federal Highway Administration 1992: 6]

To be effective, however, concentrated development depends on a regional strategy. But, regional plans are often difficult to implement, especially at the local level. Suburban growth areas that have proven market attraction, such as the three Boston metropolitan suburbs examined in this thesis, provide the opportunity to study ways to approach regional concentrated development — as well as its potential form and how it is governed.

Burlington, Natick/Framingham and Quincy each experienced high office and/or retail growth in the 60s through early 80s, responded by restricting development in the mid to late 80s, and are now in the process of planning their future growth more proactively. The different planning approaches in each case represent a spectrum from anti-growth to more pro-growth, and present different opportunities and obstacles for achieving more concentrated development. Burlington — *the top-down approach* — resisted becoming more of a regional concentrated development center as suggested by the Boston metropolitan planning agency, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and, today is creating its own vision while limiting its regional role. Quincy — *the bottom-up approach* — is actively attracting businesses to refocus development within its center. While Natick/Framingham — *the intermunicipal coalition approach* — recognize they are a growth center and collaborated to "concentrate development" in a triangular commercial area bridging town borders. To manage their future growth, each is also using different planning mechanisms: master plan process; private non-profit corporation; and intermunicipal overlay district.

Through an analysis of the three areas and their approaches to growth, this thesis attempts to answer: What is being done to redevelop areas that have experienced high growth? How and why? How could some of the methods, processes, approaches, attitudes in the redevelopment process of each case reveal how more concentrated development could be approached and implemented, to meet regional objectives, in the future? And, how does one encourage more concentrated development in the planning process? What may be required of the state and regional bodies?

CHAPTER ONE:

CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT: A STRATEGY AND FORM

Concentrated development is both a strategy and a form, offering an alternative to suburban sprawl. Concentrated development is a planning strategy that channels resources to manage growth within a region. This strategy is accomplished through a comprehensive planning process that specifically examines land use, economics, housing, transportation and design. Certain areas are targeted over others to concentrate development. These areas are nodes of concentrated development: a dense suburban or urban form that attempts to create a "sense of place" by combining a mix of complementary uses, services and housing in a pedestrian-friendly environment that aims to provide other modes of transportation and reduce automobile dependence. Form elements of concentrated development generally include: connecting streets, buildings close to the street, parking on the street and behind buildings, landscaped sidewalks and public spaces, and centrally located transportation stops. To offer alternative modes of transportation and help improve air quality, the concentrated development nodes and central city would ultimately be linked by a regional public transportation system, including transit, express buses and lightrail.

For the purpose of this thesis, concentrated development further implies a land use form that is not fully realized and could be envisioned in suburban areas where there is regional market attraction. Peter Rowe, for example, suggests that to remake this "middle landscape," or suburban city, there has to be a combination of "extensive realignment and invention:" a balance between pastoralism and modern technology. Such a vision includes a greater respect for the natural environment, the creation of a residential community that reflects changing lifestyles, and a greater mix of uses and services that create a greater sense of public. [Rowe 1991]

BENEFITS

Concentrated development is beneficial for a number of reasons. It serves to:

- *Contain sprawl and manage land use development more responsibly and cost-effectively for the region* — Concentrated development focuses development in certain areas, and thereby limits more low-scale, scattered development in other areas that is encouraged today by the lack of land use constraints on urban edges. By concentrating development in an areas, it is also considered a more efficient and more secure way to allocate such

resources as infrastructural moneys. In this way, it is beneficial to both the public and private sectors. It aims to reduce congestion, locate the workforce closer to their jobs and direct infrastructure spending more efficiently, saving tax payers money.

To this extent, concentrated development is considered sustainable, as it contributes to creating a balance between the natural environment and future economic and physical development so that current resources are sustained and not exhausted. This notion of concentrated development as sustainable is supported by such urban and regional thinkers as Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs and Victor Gruen. While each had their own vision of the form and economic and social role of a concentrated development center, collectively they saw concentrated development as the "urban tool" to help remedy some of the human impacts on the natural earth (including consumerism) as well as curb some of the social ills. [Hill 1992] In 1973, Victor Gruen, for example, saw concentrated development as the third form of suburban growth, "Instead of growing, we shall have to learn how to grow up. This implies inner and vertical growth instead of horizontal sprawl." [Hill 1992: 318]

- *Raise the quality of life by creating a more mixed use, higher density, pedestrian-friendly environment with services and housing that is affordable* — Such an environment can create a greater "sense of place," and can be more pleasing than the paved parking lots that exist today. With housing that is affordable to employees of suburban regional centers, concentrated development can also provide housing alternatives to the single-family detached home and limit commuting time.

- *Reduce the demand for travel and support public transportation* — One intent of the form of concentrated development is to create environments that encourage people to use other modes of transportation than their cars, and thereby help to improve air quality and reduce congestion. A mixed use environment that provides a number of services within walking or biking distances of either or both employment centers and residential neighborhoods is one such incentive. Since the facilities are used at different times of the day, a mixed use environment can reduce the amount of parking by sharing parking spaces. [Cervero 1991] In addition, such a suburban form could also curb traffic congestion as much as, or more than, other traffic management methods, since it encourages the use of alternative modes of transportation and creates a steady distribution of traffic rather than having peak "rush hours." [Cervero 1988, 1991] At certain densities, furthermore, concentrated development can ultimately support public transportation.

- *Establish a development environment in which the developer can build with confidence and environmentalist can be assured other areas will be protected* — One concern of developers is having the ability to respond quickly to a "ripe" market, and to have assurance from a particular community that the regulations will not change. Concentrated development can create an hospitable development environment by establishing a physical area that is more pleasant for businesses, and therefore more attractive to investors, and by demonstrating a commitment from the town/city and region to development in a particular area.

While concentrated development presents an alternative to suburban sprawl, it has some drawbacks that need to be further examined as a strategy and form are developed. For instance, by targeting some areas over others, concentrated development can be inequitable on a regional scale, requiring a distributory system to compensate areas that are not targeted for growth. One such distributory system has been implemented in the Minneapolis-St. Paul region in Minnesota. A percentage (roughly 30%) of the property taxes are pooled and distributed based on residential population. This system, not only provides a method to distribute the "wealth" across the region, it also reduces political competition among municipalities. [Cervero 1991] By skimming off the wealth of the region as a whole and distributing it back to the municipalities within the region, it creates an incentive to make sure the region is doing well, and reduces the need for each township to vie for itself.

Further, while concentrated development may be environmentally sensitive on a regional scale, it can negatively impact natural systems in the immediate area. Concentrated development, in this sense, could be seen as a LULU, a locally unwanted land use. Critical attention has to be paid, therefore, to identifying which areas are the most environmentally appropriate for concentrated development, and where there may be the best results in working with the community to determine a form of concentrated development.

Concentrated development and its densities may also be considered an urban ill on the landscape to people who have moved to the suburbs to find "a point of equilibrium between the wilderness and urban civilization." [Feldman and Jaffe] Many contemporary suburbs, however, are no longer traditional and have taken on a sprawling, low-scale urban form. While concentrated development is more urban than traditional suburbs or the wilderness, with attention to design, location and "the local fit," it could be shaped into a form that respects the area.

CHALLENGES

Envisioning a new regional approach and form to concentrated development — with both a "head and heart" — raises a number of challenges.

- *Accommodating the American Dream "to live in the presence of nature; to live near city and country; to own and control our own property; to have constant freedom of movement; to move up; to move away; to start again; to portray our individuality; to cherish our privacy" [Krieger in Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1991: 11]* — It is argued that suburbia emerged as Americans pursued the dream of their own residence, land and later, car — located away from their place of work. Today, this desire for the "American Dream" is augmented by changing lifestyles such as two-income families, job turnover and changing work schedules. The changing lifestyles signal that some preferences may be dissuaded from the "American Dream." However, it is doubtful that the desire for what constitutes the "American Dream" will die. The vision for suburban cities, therefore, must accommodate "the dream," and provide alternatives to meet the changing lifestyle needs.

- *Channeling and tapping market forces that may be in opposition to creating concentrated development while providing an environment where the private sector can react quickly* — Many of the existing market forces discourage concentrated development, and in fact, encourage sprawl. Retail, for example, often requires accessibility, visibility, adequate parking (usually free surface parking and lots of it), and both a tenant mix and project size that meet the market. [Phillips 1989] In many instances, this has been translated into the low-rise "strip mall" or "shopping mall" with over adequate parking. Regional malls especially require a larger draw than the number of people within walking distance from a residential neighborhood, usually meaning access to a major highway. The parking problem is exacerbated by the fact that structured, or multi-tiered, parking (which would reduce the amount of space needed for parking) is expensive and most retail income generated from the development can not support these costs. By providing free parking for patrons, retail (and office) further encourages car travel and creates unwalkable disconnected areas — resulting in more sprawl.

Concentrated development further requires a growing economy with a demand for housing, retail and office space. [Cervero 1987] In a relatively slow economy there is little growth today, especially in office development and especially in the Boston metropolitan region. Also, in many suburbs there may not be adequate population to support the uses needed for

a mixed-use environment or a public transportation system. Therefore, development opportunities have to be made clear and secure, and potential markets explored.

- *Gaining local and political support for planning that benefits the region* — State and local planning jurisdictions impede regional planning. While the state oversees transportation and other infrastructure decisions, localities generally control zoning and land use. And neither the twain shall meet. Local opposition to regional control of densities, types of uses and other planning mechanisms that are seen as local planning decisions further hinders the regional planning process. In addition, localities are often concerned about their own interests (sound tax base) and not the impact of development on their neighbors, or the region as a whole. And often, regional bodies do not have the legislative power to enforce regional objectives. In general, this lack of power at the regional level and the unwillingness of the state to empower regional agencies discredits regional planning and acts as a disincentive for local political support. It is important, therefore, to have more empowered regional planning agencies and to include local representation.

- *Overcoming local resistance to higher densities* — High densities are often associated with urban ills, multi-family or "affordable" housing (i.e. poor people of color), more traffic and negative impacts on the surrounding environment. Meanwhile, the potential benefits of density such as the ability to create a home/work balance, support more of a mixed-use pedestrian-friendly environment that provides daily services, bolster public transportation and reduce the need to drive, and minimize suburban sprawl and thereby conserve open space regionally, are often unknown. To make transit financially feasible, residential density equivalent to 7 housing units per acre, or 2,400-3,700 persons per square mile would be required. Or an employment density of 50 employees per net employment acre at a minimum of 10,000 jobs (or students) would be necessary, which corresponds to at least an FAR of 2.0. [Cushman in Attoe 1988, Pushkarev and Zupan 1977 in Cervero 1991] Not only does public transportation have a bad name, but these densities are also politically and socially difficult to achieve in suburban areas. Since many suburbs do not have the densities to adequately support public transportation systems, the misperceptions and opportunities of density would have to be addressed through education.

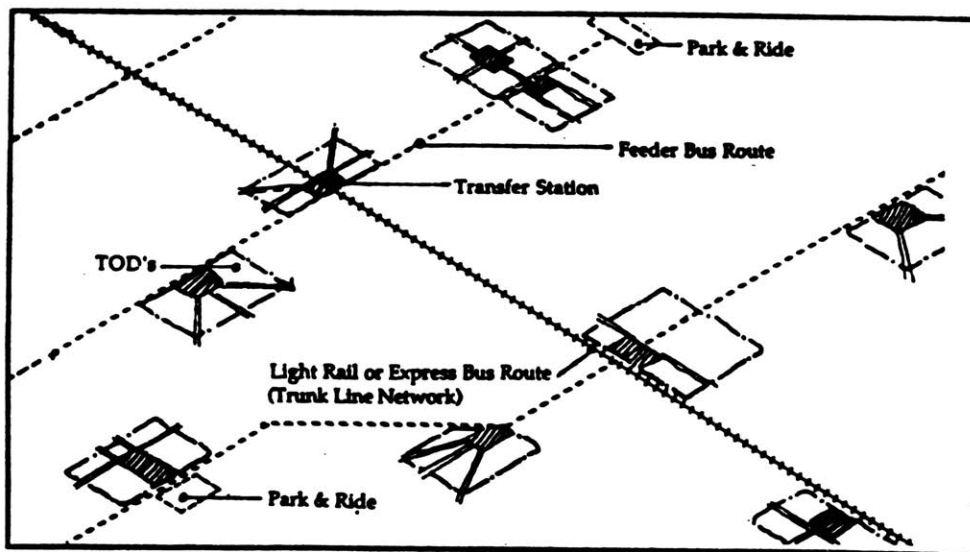
- *Balancing individual rights with concentrated development* — Concentrated development could favor a few land owners over the many who are able to build in a sprawling environment. In addition, individual property rights could be sacrificed as land would inevitably have to be assembled to accommodate some of the projects. A series of

mechanisms to address inequities on the regional, municipal as well as individual level would have to be identified.

PRECEDENTS

To begin to meet these challenges, architects and planners have responded over the past decade with a series of design and planning concepts. One such vision of suburban concentrated development — the so-called "neotraditional approach" — borrows such elements from early 20th Century towns as "land use mix, density, street patterns, pedestrian circulation, open spaces, architectural character, and sense of community." [Bookout 1992a: 23] The work of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and specifically their town of Seaside in Florida, has spearheaded this revival of "town planning." Their concept is generally to reinstate traditional town environments such as Marblehead, Massachusetts through a set of design principles to guide the form of the development and the revision of current zoning ordinances to allow such development to occur. Their work is a resource that could help shape the more traditional components of existing suburbs. However, focused on isolated communities, it generally does not address the larger regional context.

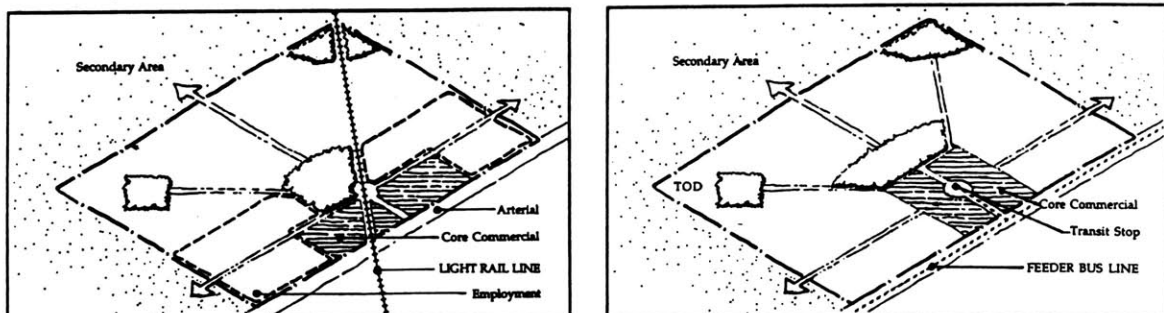
Peter Calthorpe's Pedestrian Pocket, or Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) concept, provides another vision of concentrated development for suburban areas that, with its transportation orientation, is linked to a regional plan. TODs are mixed-use neighborhoods developed around a transit stop and commercial core that attempt to accommodate



2. Transit Oriented Development and its regional links

pedestrian needs. [Calthorpe 1990] By integrating land-use and transportation planning with urban design, TODs aim to create more walkable commercial and residential environments with a mix of uses that are economically viable, bridge the job/housing gap while offering more housing that is affordable, support transit lines, and provide a variety of travel choices to ultimately reduce car emissions, and thereby improve the air quality. At varying acreage requirements, TODs could be developed in infill, revitalization and reuse areas or within urban growth boundaries devised to contain development.

As part of the Pedestrian Pocket, there are three concepts that collectively address the different demands in contemporary suburbs and could serve as key models for suburban environments with a growing "split personality." They include: the "Urban TOD," the "Neighborhood TOD" and "Secondary Areas." The Urban TOD is centered around a transit stop for either light rail, subway or express bus and because of its key location contains more of the commercial and job generating uses as well as moderate and high density housing.² The Neighborhood TOD is near a transit stop (or possibly in between two), is serviced by buslines, and contains a variety of housing types at different prices, retail and services. Both TODs are surrounded by lower density residential neighborhoods — or Secondary Areas — with public services and amenities that are within a mile of the transit stop. Secondary Areas link surrounding single-family residential neighborhoods with the TODs through a direct roadway system and are more auto-oriented than the Urban or Neighborhood TODs. With its different components accommodating a variety of suburban needs, the TOD concept could be used to illustrate the benefits of density.³



3. Urban and Neighborhood TODs

² The population that would be housed in the high density housing and the commercial uses around the transit stop are critical in order to justify building the transit and to support the transit once it is built. Coordination of the development of the transit line and the Urban TOD would be vital.

³ Today, this concept is being implemented in Laguna West in Sacramento County, California and is a component of the accepted regional Land Use and Transportation Air Quality (LUTRAQ) alternative—a linked land use and transportation development pattern presented as an alternative to a proposed Western Bypass freeway around the Portland, Oregon region. LUTRAQ has been recognized and is under consideration by Washington County.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE BOSTON METROPOLITAN REGION

The Boston metropolitan region — an area officially containing 101 towns and cities within a 20 to 25 mile radius of Boston — has to carefully direct new development. Today, there is relatively little population or job growth in the region, limited prospect for development investment compared to the nation because of higher land, energy and labor costs, a saturated office market, little vacant or available land, and a shortage of housing that is affordable to those who work in the area. ⁴ In addition, strong "home rule," whereby each town and city is autonomous and has a long history of relationships with neighboring localities, makes regional planning difficult. In fact, home rule and property rights are so dominant in the region that Susan Bernstein of Natick claimed, "Planning is like the judicial system: the rights of the accused supersede those of the accuser." As a result, there is little coordinated regional planning.

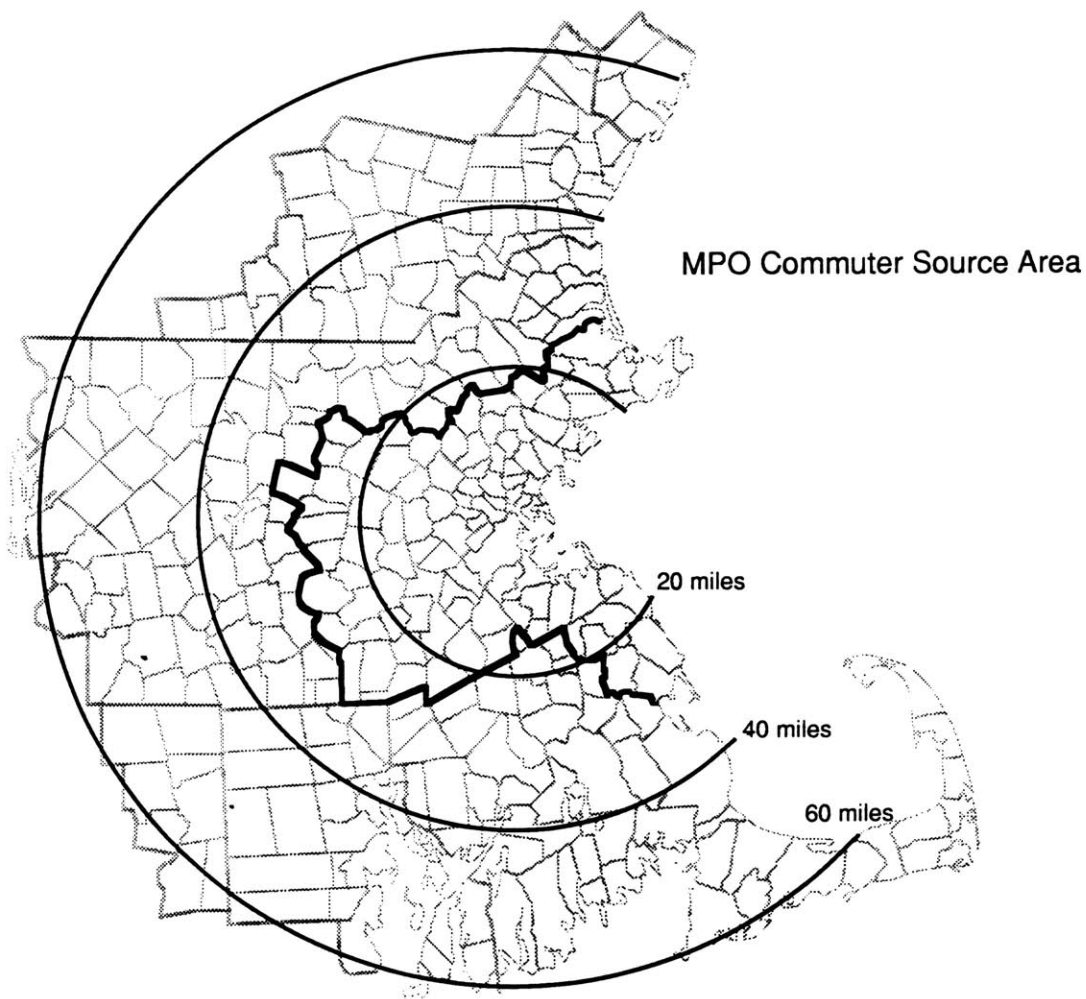
The emergence of suburban Boston paralleled national trends of suburban development in the early 20th Century. Initial residential clusters within the Boston metropolitan region grew along streetcar or industrial rail lines, maintaining a strong tie with the central city. As with many cities and regions nationwide, Boston's population peaked in 1950 as suburbs emerged and people began to move out of the central city. At the same time, major roadways such as Route 128 and the Massachusetts Turnpike were constructed, creating one of the first radial and circumferential roadway systems in the nation. The new roadways reduced the dependence on rail and allowed development to expand further west.

Freed up by the roadways, suburban development between 1950 and 1970 occurred in two general forms: spread out residential areas and population/commercial clusters along major highways. [Central Transportation Planning Staff 1989, Rowe 1991] Over this period, population increased more dramatically in areas outside Route 128, indicating that areas immediately surrounding Boston were becoming filled and people were moving further out. While population grew only 3% in the 1950s inside Route 128, and actually declined in the 1960s, the population within the entire metropolitan region continued to grow between 8% and 9% per decade from 1940 to 1970, when it stabilized. ⁵ [Rowe 1991: 11]

⁴ While in 1990 the council members of the Urban Land Institute ranked New England as the lowest region in the United States for future development investment, there are industries that are expected to flourish in eastern Massachusetts. These include: eco-industries, bio-research, medical research, communication technology, and cultural tourism.

⁵ This population growth rate is slow compared to other metropolitan areas in the nation during this time.

In addition, the major roadways often bypassed original downtowns to avoid population centers and congestion and to minimize construction costs. [Fortier 1993, Rowe 1991] This phenomenon in part has driven the type and form of development in the regional centers in the 1970s and 1980s, and created a tradeoff between these centers and the traditional downtowns — which have persisted and continue to persist, possibly due to a longing for what has been characterized as "New England character."



4. Boston metropolitan region and its expanding commutershed

As the manufacturing base dwindled, computer and telecommunication industries began to move into the region in the 1970s, pulling Massachusetts out of a recession and creating what has been called the "Massachusetts Miracle." [Gakenheimer et al 1990] As a result, the number of jobs in the area, and especially in the suburbs, grew. In fact, nearly 75% of new jobs between 1960 and 1987 located in the suburbs, with more jobs in the areas surrounding Boston than within Boston by the 1980s. [Central Transportation Planning Staff 1989, Rowe 1991] As a result, low-scale office parks emerged along Route 9, the southern section of Route 128, and especially between the northern part of Route 128 and Route 495, along Route 3. In the 70s and 80s, these centers matured to what they are today, in Jerry Ackerman's words, "Offices are their muscle . . . , but shopping malls are usually their hearts and automobiles their lifeblood." [Ackerman 1991a: A55]

In the region and these suburban centers, however, there is not enough housing that is affordable. The shortage of housing is driven in part by localities that encourage commercial development over housing development — fiscal zoning ⁶ — in order to generate a stronger tax base and minimize municipal expenses for schools and other services. [Central Transportation Planning Staff 1989] In addition, zoning bylaws restrict multifamily housing, driving up housing costs and forcing housing development and people further away from the downtown. [Cervero 1988] As a result, the commuter shed has expanded [to include as many as 339 municipalities in 5 states, according to the Central Transportation Planning Staff 1989] and the majority [nearly 2/3, according to Cervero] of the work trips are between and within suburbs. To exacerbate this problem, while the population density has increased in Boston metropolitan suburbs, it may not be enough to support public transportation.

Today, due to the radial and circumferential highway system and the way the Boston metropolitan region developed, suburban residential areas and office complexes are spread out and inadequately served by transit, creating greater dependence on the automobile. However, the highway system is overburdened, unable to support the changing transportation needs and the increasing number of commuters that are having to commute from greater distances. While there is slow growth in the region, and therefore a lack of an

⁶ Proposition 2 1/2 is a fiscal cap (of 2.5%) on the amount a municipality can increase taxes on existing property annually. Municipalities are allowed, however, to levy taxes proportional to the amount of increased tax base as a result of new construction or renovation. Since commercial properties usually rate at a higher value and require less expenses than housing, municipalities often zone more commercial areas than residential. Less potential housing in turn has contributed to the rising costs of housing in the region.

engine for change, something has to be done. Targeting suburban centers — areas of anticipated development demand — for more concentrated development is an approach to channel that development and create more livable environments.

REGIONAL PLANNING FRAMEWORK

There are 10 metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) in Massachusetts and 13 regional planning agencies. Without much legislative power, however, within a state where each locality rules, the MPOs and regional planning agencies act as information clearinghouses. The result is an absence of a coordinated plan for the state as well as the regions. [Gakenheimer et al 1990]^{7 8} While each MPO includes representatives from the Executive Office of Transportation and Construction (EOTC) and the Massachusetts Highway Department (MHD) and is responsible for devising regional transportation plans, the Boston MPO is especially weighted toward transportation with four of its six agencies reporting to the Secretary of Transportation and Construction.⁹ Furthermore, only one of the six agencies provides services to all 101 municipalities in the region. As a result, the Boston MPO is stacked in favor of the state over the region, and there is a division among the members of the Boston MPO whereby four of the members see the state as their constituency while two see the region as theirs. [Kathy Bartolini 1993] To complicate the Boston metropolitan regional structure further, there are also eight subregional organizations, each with its own bylaw, but with limited power. The MetroWest Growth Management Committee (which will be discussed later in the Natick/Framingham case study) is one of these eight organizations.

⁷ In response to a concern about "the loss of the unique character of Massachusetts; the need to remove impediments to development and economic opportunity; the absence of coordinated growth policies; the deterioration of resources; and the declining availability of affordable housing," the state established the Special Commission on Growth and Change in the Commonwealth in 1988. [Gakenheimer et al quoting the Final Report of the Special Commission on Growth and Change in the Commonwealth 1990: 13] Issued in 1990, the Final Report of this Commission called for a state transportation and land use plan, an enhanced role of MPOs, and local comprehensive plans. The MPOs would establish regional plans that incorporate the local plans and act as a referee to the local disputes. Funding for the Commission was not renewed in 1990 and it lost further support under the current Weld Administration. As a result, the report, according to Kent Stasiowsky of MAPC, is just sitting on the shelf.

⁸ The Cape Cod (1989) and Martha's Vineyard (1974) Commissions are two county entities in Massachusetts that were set up by the state to protect the natural character of these areas. While the commissions have been effective, they are not considered metropolitan planning entities, and therefore play a limited role as a model for MPOs in Massachusetts. [Gakenheimer et al 1990]

⁹ The Executive Office of Transportation and Construction, the Massachusetts Highway Department, the Massachusetts Port Authority and the Central Planning Transportation Staff report to the State, while the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority Advisory Board and the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) do not.

The Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) is the Boston regional planning agency services all 101 municipalities in the region.¹⁰ Without any substantial legislative power, however, the MAPC lacks political support and mainly offers technical assistance to communities for water quality and management, directs state funding for transportation and acts as a conduit of information. According to David Soule, Director of MAPC, "It's sort of like the U.N. We're strictly an advisory board." [Reidy 1993]

Initiated in 1987, MetroPlan 2000 is one of MAPC's undertakings which attempts to address the problems of sprawl in the region by concentrating development. The Plan originally targeted areas with a minimum of 5 million sf of non-residential floor space and required an FAR of 1.5 or greater and a transit and pedestrian-friendly environment with mixed-use development. In this initial plan, transit nodes in the sub-regional centers would have been linked by a circumferential transit system of express buses, and eventually, light rail. In 1989, the MAPC indicated 7 areas that were appropriate for such regional growth centers. The Burlington and Natick/Framingham areas were two of the seven recognized.

The original intention of the plan to establish regional concentrated development centers has been weakened. Today, the MetroPlan focuses on existing conditions that could more easily be transformed into concentrated development centers at a smaller scale. Such existing conditions are sketchy and include public transportation services or feasibility to support such services, sewer and water capacity, zoning that allows for concentrated development, and a more pedestrian designed environment that discourages auto travel. However, any one of the 101 communities in the Boston metropolitan area, a subregion or MAPC policy committee can nominate an area to become a concentrated development center. And, once an area is accepted by the MAPC staff, the focus is on the infrastructural needs of the community.

Driving the plan is a concern for the increasing costs of infrastructure, the expected local burden of carrying additional costs, and the need to more efficiently and more cost-effectively direct infrastructure. The MAPC uses the threat of encouraging or discouraging state infrastructure expenditure as a "limited stick" to encourage communities to comply with the plan.

¹⁰ One member from each of the 101 municipalities is elected or designated annually to the MAPC. This member must be a resident or member of the planning board or district commission.

In general, there was resistance to the initial top-down planning of sub-regional development centers, and there was no "stick" for the MAPC to use to enforce the plan. For instance, at a meeting about the MetroPlan in 1989, the MAPC presented a map of the region with "dots" around areas that could serve as regional concentrated development centers. According to one interviewee, representatives of Burlington, MA responded sharply against being "designated" a regional center and the MAPC removed the dots from the MetroPlan 2000. Over the next few years, other communities such as Peabody, Cambridge and Salem offered to become different kinds of centers, causing the MAPC to shift its approach.

To implement the current MetroPlan 2000, the MAPC is in the process of defining how it will be working with individual (and later multiple) communities and state agencies. The MAPC has initiated a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) strategy in an attempt to gain cooperation among the various state agencies and support from each community. The strategy is basically a signed agreement among the state agencies with the MAPC and the community to direct resources and funding to the community under the certain conditions of the plan. It is hoped, according to Kent Stasiowsky, that the MOU will give MAPC more authority by more efficiently directing state dollars and coordinating the activities of state agencies. However, to date, the conditions of the plan, what is expected from each community and what role the MAPC will play are not clear. The strategy is currently being tested with Salem, MA.

Thus since its inception in 1987, MetroPlan 2000 evolved from targeting a few large suburban regional centers — areas with the potential for a dense commercial and mixed use core to support transit, to a series of tiered concentrated development centers to serve economic development in the Boston metropolitan area. The FAR is lower than the original plan and there are no specific housing, site or transit requirements, generally allowing any municipality to apply. In addition, there are no guidelines to restrict or designate concentrated development centers. As a result, the MetroPlan 2000 process has become more political. [Kent Stasiowsky 1993] To this extent, the MetroPlan 2000 is less effective as a regional plan and regional planning effort.

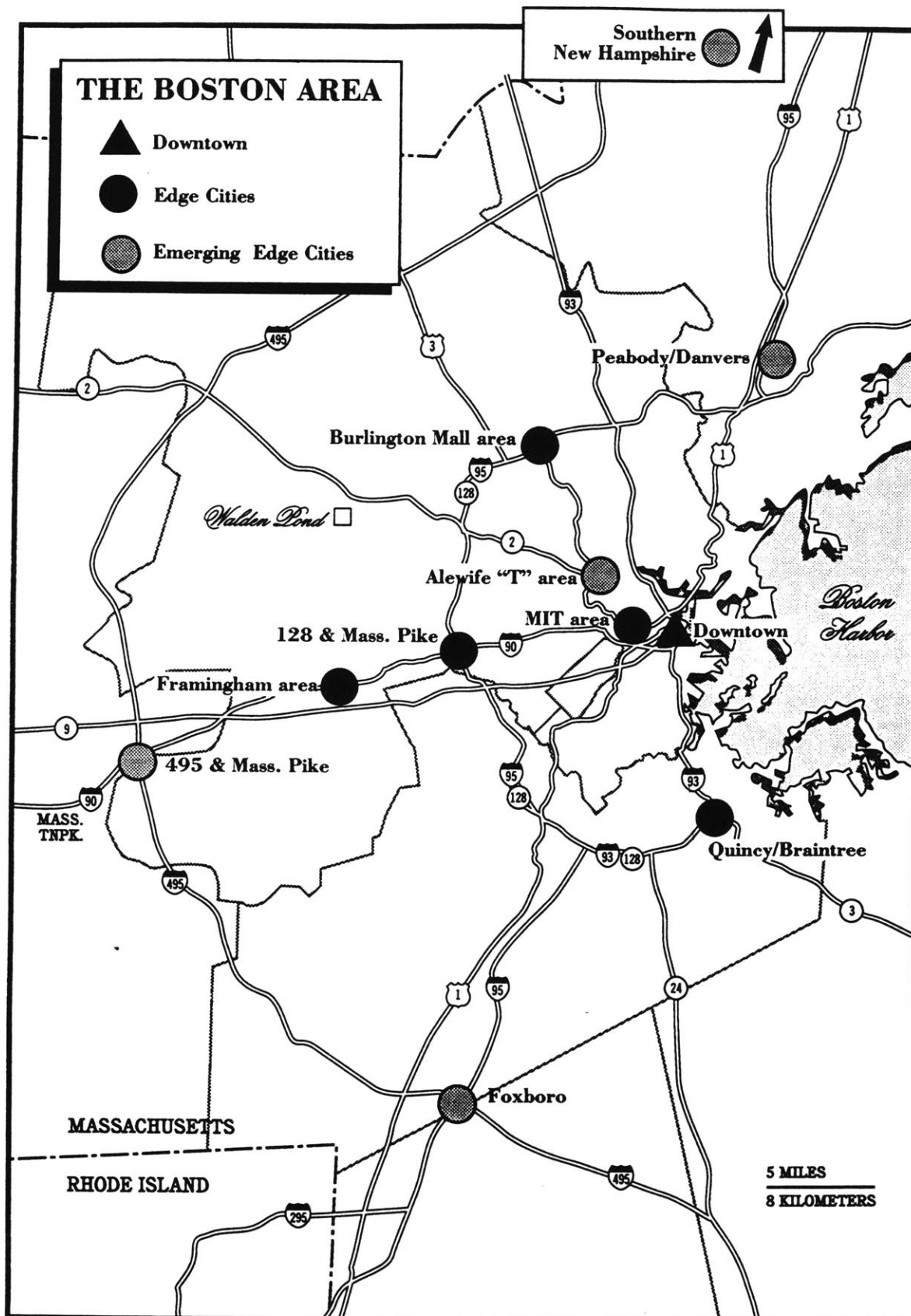
CHAPTER THREE: THREE SUBURBAN "CITIES"

OVERVIEW

Burlington, Quincy and Natick/Framingham — three suburban cities of the Boston metropolitan region — were selected to study the possibility of achieving more concentrated development in the region. Each is a suburban center located at intersections of major highways and is attractive to regional demand — and therefore prime for more concentrated development. Each experienced rapid office and retail growth in the 1970s and early 1980s, responded by attempting to restrict development in the mid to late 1980s, and is now engaged in a planning process.

Currently, however, each is approaching its growth differently, such that collectively the cases represent a spectrum from slow-growth to more pro-growth. Burlington is limiting its regional role. Quincy is taking steps to attract development. And, Natick/Framingham recognize they are a growth center and are working together to "concentrate development" in a shared commercial area. In this process, each is using different planning mechanisms to manage their future growth: the master plan process, a private non-profit corporation and an intermunicipal overlay district. Each also represents a different governmental makeup: a town, a city and two towns collaborating.

The cases thus share many characteristics while they are quite different places. By examining how each is directing its growth and why, the study attempts to identify ways to achieve concentrated development in the region.



5. Burlington, Quincy, Natick/Framingham and other growing "edge cities"

Categories	Burlington*	Quincy**	Golden Triangle (GT)** Framingham Natick	
Form of government	Rep Town Meeting (108 members)	Mayor and City Council	Rep Town Meeting (204 members)	Rep Town Meeting
Total Land Area	11.86 sq miles	16.73 sq miles	26.52 sq miles (750 acres - GT)	15.98 sq miles (750 acres - GT)
Surrounding towns/cities	Bedford; Billerica; Wilmington; Woburn	Boston; Braintree; Milton; Randolph; and Weymouth	Ashland; Natick; Marlborough; Sherborn; Southborough; Sudbury; Wayland	Dover; Framingham; Sherborn; Wayland; Wellesley; Weston
From Boston	12.22 miles	7.83 miles	19.49 miles	15.59 miles
Main arteries	Routes 128; 3; 3A	Routes 128 (95); 93; 3; 3A	Mass Pike; Route 9; Route 30	Mass Pike; Route 9; Route 30
Public Transportation	Inner-town bus	Red line transit	Boston & Logan airport express; commuter rail dwtn	Boston & Logan airport express; commuter rail dwtn
Population ***	23,302	84,985	64,989	30,510
Racial distribution ***	93.1% White; 1.1% Black; 4.5% Asian; 1.3% Other	91.9% White; 1.0 % Black; 6.5% Asian; .6 % Other	90.0% White; 3.7% Black; 3.0% Asian; 3.3% Other	95.1% White; 2.0% Black; 2.4% Asian; .5% Other
Median age ***	34.7	34.7	33.5	35
Median household income ***	\$55,952	\$35,858	\$42,948	\$49,229
Main employment by industry (% of population)	Prof. Serv. (27.3%); Whl/Retail (21.6%); Manuf (19.9%) ***	Prof. Serv. (26.2%); Whl/Retail (21.2%) ***	Whl/Retail (30.0%); Services (23.6%) Manuf(22.7%) **	Whl/Retail (39.1%); Services (25.5%) **
% of jobs held by local residents ****	19.7%	68.1%	59.3%	42.6%
Tax Levy	33,444,594	69,569,310	56,193,456	29,580,338
Unused Levy Cap	1,305,903	0	55,544	8,484
Unused Levy/ Tax Levy	4%	0%	.1%	.3%
Single-family detached housing (% of total)	77.2%	36.4%	49.8%	61.6%
Multifamily hsg (5+ units-% of total)	19.5%	31.1%	30.2%	22.8%
Est of existing comm space (sf)	12,000,000	5,000,000	NA	NA

Table 1. Physical and Demographic Profile of the Three Case Studies

* Mostly from Banker & Tradesman — 1992 data

** Mostly from Banker & Tradesman — 1991 data

*** From 1990 Census data

**** From Massachusetts Department of Employment and Training, 1990 data

Sources: Banker & Tradesman, Census 1990, Massachusetts Department of Employment and Training (1990 data), town profiles and interviews.

Categories	Burlington*	Quincy**	Golden Triangle (GT)**	
			Framingham	Natick
Planning entities (# of years)	Planning Board (40+)	Planning Dep't (40+); City Council; Quincy 2000 Corporation (1/2)	GT Steering Comm (1988-90) and Sub Comm (1990-92) ; MetroWest (10); Planning Brd (40+); Planning Dep't (20)	GT Steering Comm (1988-90) and Sub Comm (1990-1992); MetroWest (10); Planning Brd and Planning Dep't
Planning positions	Dir of Planning Brd	Dir, Comm Dev & Planning; Chr, Planning Brd; Dir, Quincy 2000 Corp (1/2 yr)	Dir, Planning; Chrm, Planning Brd; Planning Brd Admin (2 yrs); Dir. MetroWest	Dir, Planning Board; Dir. MetroWest
Planning vehicle to direct growth	Master plan	Quincy 2000 Corporation	Highway Overlay District, for GT	Highway Overlay District, for GT
Status of planning vehicle	Completed first and nearly the second element of 6-part master plan	Quincy 2000 Corporation incorporated in August 1992	Adopted the Highway Overlay District — one element of the master plan	Adopted the Highway Overlay District
Status of master plan	Engaged in master plan process; current master plan (1965)	No approved master plan; Quincy 2000 Corp has initiated an advisory plan	Engaged in master plan process — Preparing to reevaluating base zoning regs	No approved master plan
Other development controls/ limitations	Site plan review and subdivision control	6-story height limit; multifamily hsg: min 2500 sf/unit w/ a min 42,000/sf per dev	Temporary cap of FAR .32	30% building coverage
Floor Area Ratio range and uses zoned (in study areas)	.1 to .25 FAR (comm. and indust.)	.5 (resid.) to 3.5 FAR (comm.)	underlying .5 and .8 FAR limits; GT: .32 with bonuses up to .4 (comm.) to 1 FAR for multifamily hsg	No FAR limits; GT: .32 with bonuses up to .4 (comm.) No multifamily hsg
Approx. % of total land vacant or available	10% (3 to 4 million sf allowed)	15-20% — (mostly in office parks)		
Current major retail and office projects (proposed and under construction) (sf)	Filenes expansion (25,000); General Cinema (40,000); Circuit City (29,800)	Shaw's; Stop & Shop	Shopper's World (720,000); DJs (118,000); Super Stop & Shop (80,000); Walgreens (40,000); Shaws (50-60,000); Bose Hdqtrs - outside the GT (730,000)	Natick Mall (1.2 million sf); Home Quarters (100,000; Costco (70-80,000); Circuit City (40,000)
Other relevant information	Potential 25-35% increase in commer but only 12% in housing units.		An upswing of housing subdivision activity.	

Table 2. Planning Environment of the Three Case Studies

* Mostly from Banker & Tradesman — 1992 data

** Mostly from Banker & Tradesman — 1991 data

Sources: Banker & Tradesman, town profiles and interviews

BURLINGTON: THE TOP-DOWN APPROACH

Burlington is two towns: a residential community and a regional commercial center. The residential community, predominantly in the north and northwest section of the town, represents Burlington's quality of life image and links it with western suburbs. The commercial hub along Routes 128 and 3 — "an island of urbanity in a suburban community" [John Mullin] — is Burlington's economic life blood and represents its connection with Boston and the region.

Burlington resisted becoming a regional growth center and today, is engaged in a master planning process to shape its future. In the envisioning process, however, Burlington is minimally addressing its existing commercial center and limiting its potential regional role. Guided by the results of a survey sent to residents and business and other public input, the master plan committee has decided to build upon existing community character, businesses and land uses, creating an environment that will allow Burlington to selectively attract high quality businesses in the future. The land use plan highlights a new "Town Center" and specifically provides for research and development activities in areas along Routes 128 and 3. The master plan committee envisions a number of public/private partnerships to direct and oversee key development areas.



6. Burlington Mall, New England Executive Park and Lahey Clinic sandwiched between Route 128 and Mall Road

BACKGROUND

Until the early 1940s, Burlington was a farming community of 2,500 people with limited commerce. In the early 50s, Routes 128 and 3 were built, making Burlington an attractive location for development. Around 1960, Burlington zoned 1,000 feet north and south of Route 128 for high density commercial/industry use, providing the "go-ahead" for developers to build manufacturing, research and development and office facilities.¹¹ From the late 1960s through the 1980s, Burlington experienced significant development (mostly between Route 128 and the new Mall Road) that resulted in a regional mall (with 160 stores and 1.2 million sf of floor space), a national medical clinic and 2 office parks, bringing Burlington's total office space to 3.8 million sf in 52 buildings. [Banker & Tradesman, 1992: 14] During this time, the population nearly doubled from 12,852 in 1960 to 24,374 in 1975, where it has remained relatively stable since, and the town reformed its government from an open Town Meeting to a representative Town Meeting in 1972.

While Burlington completed a comprehensive master plan in 1965 — which emphasized a systematic approach to control "over-rapid building development to date" [1965 Burlington Master Plan] — and used on-site, off-street parking (with a 25% site coverage requirement), site plan review and screening bylaw as a package to control development throughout this period, debate still continues today as to how closely the master plan was followed. According to one Planning Board member during this time, the town was "doing all it could just to respond to development applications." [Robert Factor 1993]

By the early 80's, the town had built a Burlington center, which was called "Downtown 128," along Routes 128 and 3 without comprehending the full consequences. As a result, in response to traffic congestion, sewer overflows and water contamination, the planning climate changed from encouraging expansive economic development to restricting growth. The town created the Director of Planning position in 1984 to begin to address its concerns. During the first and second directors' tenures, planning tools such as subdivisions, special permits, zoning by-laws, Floor Area Ratio (FAR) requirements, and planning districts were modified and adopted to control development. Inventory and growth studies were conducted in the mid 80s. Between 1985 and 1987, Burlington instituted a Site Plan and Special Permit Moratorium. [Shaw 1990] In 1986-'87, Burlington adopted the Planned Development District (PDD), a new mixed-use zone which allows members of the Town

¹¹ The Town Aquifer and Water Resource Areas lie beneath the commercial/ industrial zone.

Meeting to selectively determine the proportion of uses and density for each proposed project, creating a riskier investment environment. And in 1989, the town downzoned industrial land to .15 FAR from .5 FAR, allowing bonuses up to .25 FAR.

In her piece, "The Quiet Crisis on Route 128," Marybeth Shaw warns that this approach is ultimately destructive. "Worse, the town's 'draconian no-growth measures' (Cervero phrase) manifested in down-zoning and other restrictions promotes continued inefficient, low-density land use with less open space, and increased dependency on private transportation which, in turn, overburdens the road system." [Shaw 1990: 11]

Today, while remnants of "draconian no-growth measures" remain, Burlington is adopting a more "manage-growth" approach to its own future development — but limiting its potential regional role.

THE ISSUES, PRESSURES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The decay of older industrial areas within Burlington, the threat of lower-class box retail development and continual development activity even in a slow economy, the suggestion by Metropolitan Area Planning Council that the Burlington area become a regional growth center, traffic congestion and the lack of a physical vision provided the impetus for Burlington to engage in a master planning process.

Burlington is most concerned about the blight of industrial land, especially along Blanchard Street south of Route 128, and the long-term consequences of vacancies, and is trying to determine whether municipal actions towards investment on public or private lands will have the strongest impact in creating a strong Burlington. [Terry Szold 1993] In addition, competition from office complexes in neighboring towns and cities, especially Waltham, and a slow economy have created a tentative business climate with high vacancy rates (21% in 1991) and decreasing rents (down to \$16-18/sf in 1991 from \$21-23/sf in 1985). [Banker & Tradesman 1992: 12] To remain competitive, land owners have had to offer lower rents, free rent and tenant space improvements. [Banker & Tradesman 1992: 12] Given these pressures, Burlington needs to, in Jack Kelly's words, "guard against becoming a slum."

In the future, it is expected that there will be an increase in the "demand for professional and technical work" in the region [Burlington MP Committee with Mullin Assoc. 1993: 2] and that Burlington has the option to "attract more retail, service, software and medical related jobs." [Burlington MP Committee with Mullin Assoc. 1993:3] Burlington has the capacity to absorb this demand. Under existing zoning, Burlington is only 65-75% built-out, allowing for an additional 3 to 4 million sf of commercial and industrial space. However, since these service-base jobs require less space per worker, there is the potential for more employees coming to Burlington. Also, as part of this trend, industries are clustering, downsizing and creating linkages with other supporting services, which would require more mixed-use zoning than exists. Given existing road conditions, public transportation options and current low-density single-use land use controls, this could lead to increased traffic congestion. This is especially exacerbated by the fact that Burlington currently imports 80.3% of its workforce, a high percentage compared to similar areas in the region.

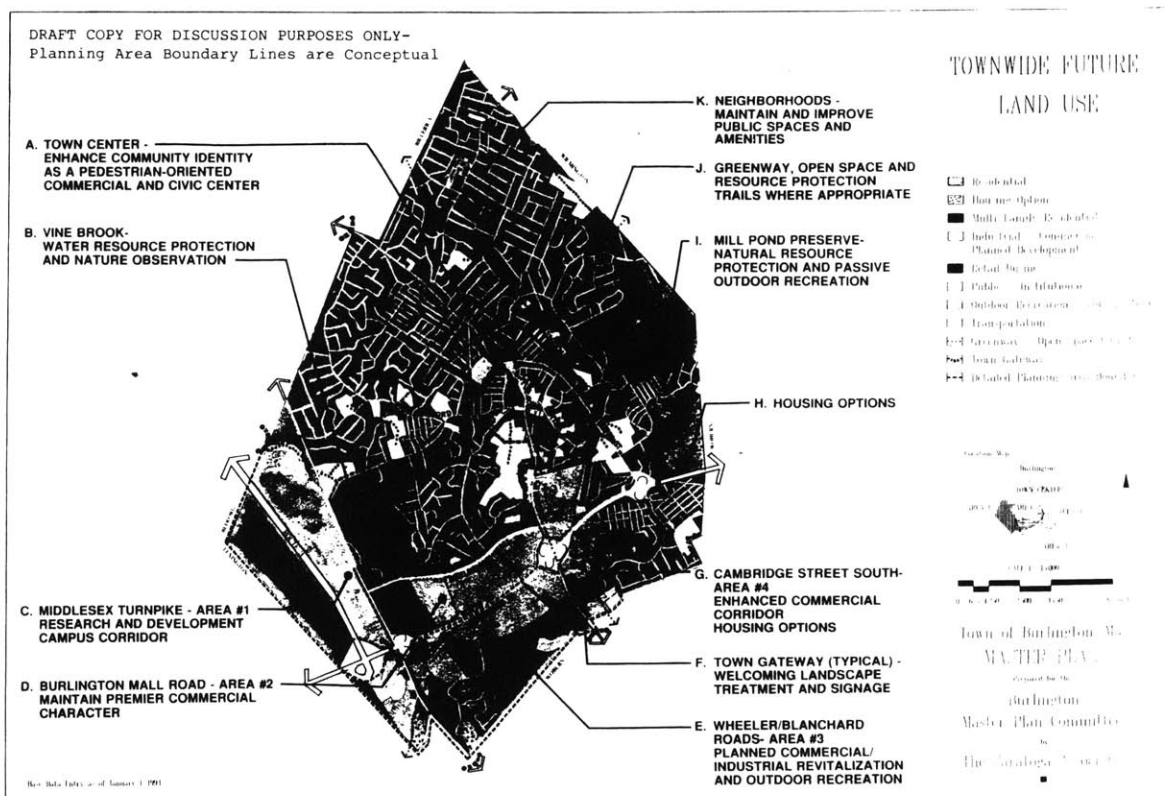
<p align="center">Burlington Master Plan Committee</p> <p>The master plan committee consists of members from the elected and appointed town boards and commissions, Town Meeting members and local business representatives. Jack Kelly, the new Chair of the master plan committee, is a vocal leader in the community.</p>
<p align="center">Director of Planning Board</p> <p>Terry Szold, Director of Burlington's Planning Board, is a strong figure who has aptly guided the master planning process.</p>
<p align="center">Mullin Associates</p> <p align="center">Economic development consultants to the master plan committee.</p>
<p align="center">The Saratoga Associates</p> <p align="center">Land use consultants to the master plan committee.</p>
<p align="center">Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC)</p> <p>The regional planning agency for the Boston metropolitan area. Initially, the Burlington area was targeted as a potential regional growth center in MAPC's MetroPlan 2000. Frank Baxter, is a representative of the MAPC and longtime town resident who attends the master plan committee meetings.</p>
<p align="center">Representative Town Meeting</p> <p>The 108-member Town Meeting votes on the components of the master plan recommended by the Planning Board and master plan committee.</p>
<p align="center">Development and Business Interests</p> <p>Representative development and business interests include: the eight major landowners (Boston Properties, The Guitterez Company, Fernand, Lahey Clinic, The Marriot, Nordblom Company, Spaulding & Sly); North Suburban Chamber of Commerce.</p>
<p align="center">Burlington Business Round Table [BBRT]</p> <p>A group of local businessmen and companies in the area, formed in 1983 to increase communication between the business community and the town, to educate the public about the role of business in the Burlington community, and to organize business.</p>

Table 3. Key Players and Interested Parties in Burlington

CURRENT APPROACHES TO GROWTH

The Master Plan

Burlington is developing a master plan to "fine-tune the Burlington picture," [John Mullin 1993] incrementally build upon what exists today to develop its own vision and establish an environment "to take advantage of immediate and long-range opportunities." [Burlington MP Committee with Saratoga Associates 1993: 1] On the one hand this "fine-tuning" means stimulating new development trends by encouraging a "different array of land uses" that are currently not allowed by the zoning by-laws, such as bio-technology companies that are compatible with the water resource zone. [Terry Szold 1993] While on the other hand, this "fine-tuning" means tinkering with but not drastically changing density numbers, limiting potential commercial uses and adopting more restrictive conservation laws. [Frank Baxter 1993]



7. Draft Land Use Plan for Burlington

To date, the master plan committee, working with their land use and economic development consultants, The Saratoga Associates and Mullin Associates respectively, has completed the land use component and nearly completed the economic development component of a seven-part master plan.^{12 13} The land use component of the master plan includes seven major elements:

- 1) A new "Town Center" around Burlington's existing historic and civic town common and within walking distance of nearby residential neighborhoods. This area could potentially contain non-chain and specialty retail, housing affordable to local residents, professional offices, recreational facilities and municipal buildings.¹⁴
- 2) Enhancement and maintenance of the Burlington Mall Road area. This includes providing more green space and applying high-quality design standards.
- 3) A hospitality area — or southern gateway — at the intersection of Routes 128 and 3, including restaurants, grade-B hotels, a cinema and other entertainment activities, and conference centers.
- 4) A high-tech/medical research and development (R&D) campus sandwiched between Route 3 and Middlesex Turnpike to the north of Route 128, possibly on the General Electric site.
- 5) A concentration of commercial and industrial uses, including research and development activities, along Blanchard Road south of Route 128.
- 6) A multi-seasonal recreational facility, possibly an 18-hole public golf course, to be built on 100 acres of land left in the Cummings Trust to the City of Boston for "a public pleasure ground."
- 7) A "greenway" system that links residential neighborhoods and existing parks through a series of easements and use of vacant properties.

¹² The master plan process is guided by a set of goals and strategies that were informed by a series of public outreach activities: public hearings, a survey sent to residents and business owners, a meeting with the Land Use Subcommittee of Town Meeting, a Town Meeting briefing session, and public master plan committee meetings. The survey, in particular, revealed that both residents and businesses are equally concerned about "growth management [specifically, traffic congestion, overdevelopment and the creation of open space] water quality protection, and preservation of the Town's 'New England' character." [Summary of Findings, p. 5]

¹³ The town is not officially looking at optional uses for the Cadillac property, a 270-acre landlocked parcel along Routes 128 and 3, taken by the Town of Burlington for public recreational space. The property could make a significant contribution to Burlington's development. Burlington and neighboring Bedford are currently in court, and have been for over three years, to resolve the question whether Bedford, by rezoning its adjacent land to residential, thereby restricting access to the site and reducing the value of the Cadillac parcel, was done intentionally after Burlington's taking. Town employees have been advised by the town counsel not to discuss the parcel, which may influence the judge's decision.

¹⁴ Socio-economic findings and consumer preferences reveal local demand for goods and services that could support a village center. Robert Fitzgerald of The Gutierrez Company, which recently developed a shopping center in Burlington along Mall Road, also claimed specialty retail stores such as the Coffee Center are interested in locating in suburban shopping centers and are able to pay the rents.

The land use plan creates the vision that Burlington wants. It is building on the local commercial activities that exist, salvaging underutilized areas that could encourage an economic downturn. It is restoring a sense of community by suggesting the creation of a new "Town Center." It is basically leaving its commercial district alone, calling for maintenance. It is hoping to attract businesses in the region that it wants. It is not, however, envisioning the role it could play as a suburban regional center.

Implementation Strategy

To implement its land use plan specifically and its master plan more generally, Burlington is considering the creation of a number of small public/private partnerships that would oversee development of specific areas such as the R&D campus and the Town Center. In addition, Burlington has had preliminary discussions with the North Suburban Chamber of Commerce to establish a potential "discussant organization" that may be responsible for attracting businesses and other economic opportunities to the area that are consistent with the master plan. ¹⁵



8. Burlington's traditional town common — to become the "Town Center"

¹⁵ The Burlington master plan committee is also aware of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA), and may apply for federal money to reduce the number of curb cuts and straighten out the roads. It may also be considering the use of State law 121 B — an old urban renewal law — to coordinate development of small parcels of land for development in the common interest of the town.

OTHER KEY ISSUES

Business and Town Relationship

The relationship between the larger land owners and the Town of Burlington has been cordial, yet at times tenuous. According to Frank Baxter, the relationship is primarily leasor/leasee — a "sharecropper situation." During the boom years when off-site improvements were seen as enhancements to development projects, Burlington had a good relationship with its developers. [Baxter, Factor and Spaulding 1993] Businesses were not as concerned about the tax rate, regulations, or even town affairs. But, today every cent counts. Businesses are no longer a bottomless coffer, giving incentive for business and the Town to work more closely together.

While communication between the town and these land owners has increased, the relationship remains testy. For instance, while in a slow economy, one landowner claimed that the town may need to be more flexible with property assessment and taxation. While Burlington has not increased taxes more than 1% [Frank Baxter 1993], the economy impacts the rents not the value of the building, such that the income from the building may be down while taxes increase, squeezing the landowners. [Andrew Spaulding 1993] Furthermore, while the business community was sent surveys and asked to attend master plan committee meetings, the larger land owners (non-residents) can not vote on the committee. Such representation is especially critical to the business community as collectively it pays 60% of the town's taxes.

But, according to lawyer Robert Factor, major decision-makers in Burlington do not want to "kill the golden calf" — business. This attitude is seen in the sixth objective of the draft "Economic Goals, Objective and Strategies: Town of Burlington: Massachusetts" to "assist the Burlington Mall and office park owners in the area to maintain a high quality development environment."

PERCEPTION OF REGIONAL PLANNING

In 1989-1990 as part of its MetroPlan 2000, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) suggested that Burlington and its surrounding areas become a "subregional growth center" (or concentrated development center), along with six other designated areas. For Burlington, the MAPC envisioned an area around Routes 128 and 3 with increased density (5 FAR), a street network and green space that preserved the wetlands. [Frank Baxter 1993] Such a center could have supported a future transit line. In lieu of taxes, the MAPC would have directed State money for transportation infrastructure. Burlington resisted this suggestion. While it is difficult to quantify why Burlington resisted becoming a center, a number of possible reasons emerged through the interviews.

To some degree, Burlington's resistance is a matter of perception. A concentrated development center implies urbanity, negative impacts of high density development such as traffic and water contamination, and a change in the existing quality of life — which, according to Burlington resident and master plan committee member, Jack Kelly, is "a single-family house with a half-acre lawn." Such development also contributes to the existing traffic congestion, and does not provide a solution to the local traffic problem. Commuting residents would still have to drive to a "Park & Ride" station through the town. In addition there is the perceptual fear that "those people [different ethnic groups from the city] are going to move out here." [Jack Kelly 1993] Burlington is 93% white.

On another level, the MAPC was too abrupt, "top down" and, at the same time, powerless. According to Frank Baxter, former MAPC President and Burlington town member, the MAPC stepped in and expected Burlington to work with them when neither the State or regional agencies had worked with Burlington for over 25 years. By suggesting Burlington become a regional center, the MAPC further labeled Burlington's character and did not consider Burlington's grander vision of itself as a more balanced community. Furthermore, while the MAPC was encouraging Burlington to become a center, it could not commit to infrastructure moneys. Instead the MAPC wanted Burlington to increase its development first and then it would consider linking transit to the area. [Jack Kelly 1993]

Key leaders, their opinions and roles further drove Burlington's resistance. Terry Szold, Director of the Planning Board, for example, claims the MetroPlan 2000 ignores the local community's preferences and overemphasizes transportation and the higher densities and greater number of people required to make transit work. To this extent, it lacks

community vision. Carried to further extremes, Szold sees the MetroPlan as a class warfare. It directs infrastructure to lower-income areas that have not resisted development in the past and it punishes people who choose to live in low density areas by restricting State infrastructure moneys. A potential sign of Szold's powerful role in resisting the MetroPlan is summed up in a friendly jar by David Soule, MAPC President. According to Szold, David Soule labeled her following her reaction to the MetroPlan as, "Terry Szold, the buzz saw."

To sum it all up, Burlington does not care to be a regional visionary nor, in John Mullin's words, "the employment hole to an affluent donut" — a regional employment center that serves surrounding wealthy suburbs.

QUINCY: THE BOTTOM-UP APPROACH

Quincy is an historic gem wrapped by Route 3, I-95 and the Southeast Expressway and linked to Boston by the Red Line rapid transit system. It is home to the only father and son Presidents of the United States, three National Historic Landmarks, the original Massachusetts Constitution, the first commercial railroad in the United States, the first commercial ironworks, the greatest shipbuilding industry in the world during the first half of the 20th Century, and over a dozen more historic sites. Dotted along the Red Line and/or easily accessed by the major encircling highways are four office parks with over 4 million sf of first class office space at lower per sf prices than comparable space in adjacent Boston.

With the second largest number of historic sites in Massachusetts, Quincy has launched an historic tourism campaign.¹⁶ To boost this campaign, Quincy is revitalizing its downtown — envisioned as a mixed-use center with office, shopping and tourist attractions within a



9. View from the MBTA Station of Quincy's downtown and the Fore River Shipyard

¹⁶ According to Bernice Mader, tourism is the second largest money maker in the United States next to the movie industry. As part of its historic tourism campaign, Quincy recently acquired the USS Salem, one of three remaining cruisers. The National Park Service opened a regional visitors center in April 1993. The National Park Service is doing an extensive inventory of the historic sites in Quincy and organizing them around themes, to examine the opportunity of becoming a National Urban Heritage Park.

five block area linked to a rapid transit line and potential commuter rail — and opening its doors to business. Recently, Quincy established a private non-profit corporation to guide this vision and devise a sound economic development plan for Quincy and its downtown. The corporation taps public and private resources and recognizes the need to work with both sectors to build a strong economic base and achieve public benefits. While development of Quincy's downtown is seen as a catalyst for future development elsewhere in the City, by focusing on its downtown, Quincy is ignoring its major commercial centers — their potential opportunities, impacts and obstacles. In addition, focused on its pocketbook, the desire to refurbish its economic base and its "downtown retail/historic tourism engine," Quincy has minimized the role of design in its development plan — potentially at the expense of an urban design framework within which the private sector could operate.

BACKGROUND

Located on the Atlantic Ocean, Quincy emerged as an industrial center, first with granite quarrying in the 1830s followed by shipbuilding at the turn of the century. The Fore River Shipyard shipbuilding industry flourished, attracting immigrants to the area and causing the population to jump dramatically between 1920 and 1950, where it has remained relatively stable ever since. In the 1950s and 1960s, Quincy's downtown became a regional shopping attraction fed by Route 3A, known as "Shopperstown USA" — until the completion of the nearby Braintree mall easily accessed by the Southeast Expressway and I-95.¹⁷ Four rapid transit stations as a part of the Red Line extension were built in Quincy in the early 1970s, linking Quincy's downtown with Boston and further fueling commercial development. In the downtown, Quincy was able to attract such office tenants as Stop and Shop Corporation and the State Department of Education. Elsewhere, first class office space concentrated in four major office parks and condominiums, sprouted in the 70s and 80s.¹⁸ Over 5.2 million sf of commercial space was approved in the 80s alone, capturing some of the insurance, computer and financial services market of Boston. [Quincy Fact Sheet, Banker & Tradesman 1991b: 4]

¹⁷ A master plan was attempted in 1965 but never approved by the City Council.

¹⁸ This spurt of commercial development signaled a shift in Quincy's job base from shipbuilding, which officially closed in 1985.

While traffic congestion, especially from the activity of the nearly built-out State Street office park in North Quincy, became an issue in the mid 80s, there was minimal resistance to growth. [Richard Meade 1993] ¹⁹ Ten story height limits were reduced to 6 stories in the zoning by-laws. And, according to Michael Kenealy, developers interested in Quincy's downtown in the late 80s were discouraged by a "general anti-growth" attitude. However, because of the 8-year grace period allowed for subdivisions, the height limit changes had little impact on development. And, over 1.3 million sf of office space, including the Presidents Place office complex across from the T station downtown, were approved in the mid to late 80s.

Today, Quincy — with its downtown revitalization program and historic tourist campaign, available first class office space and low-priced condominiums, and a government committed to business and improving the quality of life in Quincy — could be attractive to companies. Quincy recognized this potential, put out a "welcome mat" to business and established a long-term planning mechanism to attract and manage that growth, setting the stage for a "pro-growth-but-managed-growth" attitude.



10. State Street office park and car lots

¹⁹ The limited reaction to growth in Quincy in the 70s and 80s may also have been because of a weak planning department. In one interviewee's words, the planning department was "basically a vehicle to administer CDBG [Community Development Block Grant] money."

THE ISSUES, PRESSURES AND OPPORTUNITIES

A weakening economic base with a growing number of underutilized areas and underemployment, the need to develop new income sources for the City, increasing vacancies in the downtown, initial efforts to revitalize the downtown, and the opportunity to promote Quincy as an historic tourist attraction, stimulated Quincy to develop a comprehensive plan.²⁰ In the past, such planning efforts by different administrations were not aligned, resulting in, "restricted growth, lack of specific direction, limited emphasis on strategic infrastructure, absence of organized and integrated planning and little promotional effort on behalf of downtown Quincy as a good location for business opportunity."

[Quincy Plan: 2-3] Given this obstacle, Quincy recognized the need for a long-term planning entity that could develop a long-range plan and bridge administrations. Quincy, and specifically the Mayor's office, further acknowledged that the City could not do it alone. Members of both the public and private sector were needed to work together to develop a plan and revitalize the local economy. The result was a private non-profit corporation, The Quincy 2000 Corporation.

Currently, there are a number of opportunities in Quincy that will help shape the long range plan as it is developed. First, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority is restoring the Old Colony commuter rail line passing through Quincy Center and intends to relocate the station, potentially in Quincy's downtown. Second, there are two parcels, one owned by the City and the other soon to be vacated, that could serve as anchors to Hancock Street, Quincy Center's main street. Third, a parcel behind Presidents Place and between the downtown office complex and Quincy College could be a cultural/tourist center with a small hotel, convention center and classroom space. Fourth, the Fore River Shipyard, an 180-acre site currently owned by the Massachusetts Water Resource Authority that operates a sludge treatment plant on site, will become available in 1997. Quincy has begun to plan this resource. For instance, Quincy is considering completing the "cross-town connector," an east-west road that was planned in the 70s that would link the Southeast Expressway with the Fore River Shipyard.²¹ While the City is identifying various routes the connector can take and whether it will go through, around or under the downtown, the connector raises a number of concerns about access to the downtown. [Mayor's Institute 1992]

²⁰ From 1990 to 1991, Mayor Sheets ran the \$2.1 million "Cleaner, Greener Quincy" program, a lighting and sidewalk improvement campaign for Quincy Center. The Mayor solicited money from businesses as well as provided Community Development Block Grant money.

²¹ Quincy will receive money from Urban Mass Transit Authority and ISTEA for the engineering and design of its crosstown connector.

To support these opportunities, the real estate market may be turning around in Quincy. While there still is roughly a 20% commercial vacancy rate, the Realtor Michael Kenealy believes the Quincy real estate market is "bottoming out" — reaching its lowest prices. In addition, the inventory of foreclosed properties is almost exhausted. As a result, Kenealy believes there will eventually be more activity in the real estate market. And, more recently, a manufacturing company, toy retailer and others have expressed an interest in locating in Quincy, putting pressure on Quincy to identify possible sites quickly.

<p style="text-align: center;">Mayor of Quincy</p> <p>Mayor James Sheets is a strong mayor elected first in 1990 and then reelected in 1992. Mayor Sheets was instrumental in building a coalition between the city government and local businesses in an effort to address economic development in Quincy.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of Quincy</p> <p>Bernice Mader, Administrative Assistant to the Mayor, is also a strong figure who has spearheaded the historic tourism campaign and "The Quincy Plan" — a guide for development in Quincy that describes an agenda to improve infrastructure and a public/private partnership.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Quincy 2000 Corporation</p> <p>A private non-profit corporation focusing on revitalizing Quincy Center and developing an economic development plan for Quincy. The Corporation's 15-member board of directors consists of the Mayor of Quincy, the president of the Quincy city council, the Quincy planning director, and 12 annually elected members from a range of private sector businesses, unions and the public. Based on the Chamber of Commerce, stockholder membership categories are set up to attract businesses that range in size and income, in order to include a representative spectrum of businesses.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Director of Quincy 2000 Corporation</p> <p>Charles D'Aprix is the newly hired Director of the Quincy 2000 Corporation. An economic development planner, he worked with Senator Paul Tsongas in establishing the Lowell Plan, a two-part plan with a public/private partnership to devise the plan and a corporation to raise money for the plan. The Lowell Plan served as the model for the Quincy 2000 Corporation.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">City Council</p> <p>The City Council has nine members, six district representatives and three elected members. The Council has site plan approval and special permitting authority. Planning Board review kicks in at certain thresholds of development.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Planning Department</p> <p>Planning entity in Quincy. The Director of Community Development & Planning reports to the City Council.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Development and Business Interests</p> <p>Representative development and business interests include: Quincy Center Business & Professional Association, Wollaston Business Association, North Quincy Business Association, and various unions including Quincy & South Shore Building Trades and Laborers' Local 133.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA)</p> <p>An independent agency responsible for public transportation in the Boston metropolitan area. The MBTA is reestablishing the commuter line along the Old Colony railroad, creating the opportunity to link the new Old Colony station with the Red Line station in downtown Quincy.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Massachusetts Water Resources Authority (MWRA)</p> <p>An independent state agency legislated in 1984 to clean up the Boston Harbor. The MWRA purchased the Fore River Shipyard from General Dynamics in 1987 where it currently operates a sludge treatment facility.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">South Shore Economic Development Council</p> <p>The regional chamber of commerce interested in developing a sound business environment, which was formally the Quincy chamber of commerce. When the commerce became regional, there was no longer an economic planning entity for Quincy. Many of the key members in the South Shore Economic Development Council are also on the Board of the Directors of the Quincy 2000 Corporation.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">U.S. Representative Gerry Studds</p> <p>The South Shore has recently been redistricted such that Quincy is now part of U.S. Representative Gerry Studds's district. It is hoped that he will lobby for Quincy and its development efforts.</p>

Table 4. Key Players and Interested Parties in Quincy

CURRENT APPROACHES TO GROWTH

The Quincy 2000 Corporation

The Quincy 2000 Corporation, a private non-profit corporation with a 15-member board of directors and over 113 shareholders from a range of businesses, was legislated in the late summer of 1992 to establish an economic development plan for Quincy.^{22 23} In the short run, Quincy 2000 is focusing on the revitalization of the downtown, which is envisioned as a cultural, retail and commercial hub that would provide services to local people and act as a catalyst for development in the rest of Quincy. Immediately to revitalize the downtown, Quincy 2000 aims to work with existing institutions and businesses to identify their needs and opportunities for further development, establish a tête à tête between the public, the city and the downtown business owners, and complete the access road from the Southeast Expressway via Burgin Parkway to downtown.²⁴ In addition, Quincy 2000 will extend the "Cleaner Greener Quincy " program to Wollaston and North Quincy, two centers north of Quincy Center along Route 3A. Focusing on the more depressed areas, Quincy 2000 is letting the private sector manage the office parks — which are considered healthy.

Lead by the newly hired Director, Chuck D'Aprix, Quincy 2000 recently adopted a "Plan of Action," which lays out a current agenda and calls for an advisory master plan for development citywide. The agenda is four-fold: encourage commercial/retail/industrial development; attract tourism and cultural development; develop a transportation and infrastructure plan; and create financial incentive programs for signage and building facades. To determine which companies and industries — and their appropriate mix — are best for Quincy and to identify where development could and should occur, regional retail market analyses and a local inventory of industrial sites are planned.²⁵ Quincy 2000 Corporation further hopes to recruit businesses uprooted by the "Big Dig" — the Central

²² "The Quincy Plan," an initial plan that was completed in December 1991, identifies infrastructural concerns and alternatives and calls for the creation of a public/private partnership. It is a resource to guide the Quincy 2000 Corporation as it develops its long-range plan.

²³ As the planning director reports directly to the City Council and not the Mayor, the Quincy 2000 Corporation gives the Mayor more power in directing economic development.

²⁴ A selective business incubator program with peer review and low-interest loans will also be developed to complement existing businesses in the downtown.

²⁵ In attracting retail to the downtown, Quincy recognizes that there are physical limitations to accommodate what the retailers need, ie parking and freight drop-off. Quincy, therefore, is looking into outlet stores and retail chains, such as Colemans, TJ Max and Pier One Imports, that are locating in Quincy and not in Boston or other suburban downtowns. This signals a special market niche that needs further examination.

Artery project — and the South Shore. Quincy may be more competitive as its workforce may require lower wages than people on the North Shore, for instance.

While in its conceptual stage, the master plan will identify a market niche for Quincy as related to Boston and the South Shore, and focus on underutilized parcels, especially industrial parcels, that could be developed. Zoning and parking requirements would be changed to accommodate such perceived development opportunity. The master plan process will use innovative methods for gathering public input such as a 24-hour voice, computerized electronic-mail and weekend public charettes.

Even though the City and Quincy 2000 acknowledge the opportunity of the Old Colony commuter rail station, the Corporation focused on parking and road links in its initial transportation agenda. This may be in part because parking and road links are issues the City can control, while the decision of where to locate the Old Colony station is up to the MBTA. The City is trying to attract the Old Colony station, however. For instance the City has attempted to coordinate the redesign of the Constitution Common in Quincy Center with the relocation of the station.



11. Downtown Quincy

Implementation Strategy

Marketing is central to Quincy 2000's approach to planning and, so early in the game, can be characterized as its implementation strategy. In addition to marketing the "crosstown connector" to raise funds, recruiting commercial and industrial companies to locate in Quincy and establishing a retail attraction program to target small chains, Quincy 2000 is developing a marketing strategy for the Corporation, the downtown, and specific historical tourist attractions and projects within Quincy Center. ²⁶

Changing zoning and establishing design review standards are recognized, and may become part of the implementation strategy of the Quincy Plan. However, the City is concerned about appearing anti-business, and may tread lightly around these regulations.

PERCEPTION OF REGIONAL PLANNING

Quincy has generally ignored the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, the MetroPlan 2000 and regional planning in general. One interviewee stated that the MetroPlan does not concern Quincy, so Quincy is not concerned with it. Another claimed that communities are too self-interested for regional planning and that local governments are more efficient. Others were unaware of the MetroPlan, and seemed relatively uninterested.

²⁶ Quincy intends to set up a separate corporation to market and direct tourism and cultural development.

NATICK/FRAMINGHAM: THE INTERMUNICIPAL COALITION APPROACH

The "Golden Triangle," a 750-acre commercial and industrial area surrounded by residential neighborhoods, spans the town borders of Natick and Framingham. Roughly bounded by Speen Street, Route 9, Route 30 and Route 126, the Golden Triangle is the second largest regional center next to Boston by sale volume in New England. [Golden Triangle Plan Project 1990: 5] This is understandable, as the Triangle is located between Route 128 and I-495 and is easily accessed by the Massachusetts Turnpike and Route 9, the original throughway from Boston to Worcester.

Natick and Framingham recognize that the Golden Triangle — a shopping focal point for over 1 million people in the region— is their common commercial resource, that if planned consistently could mutually benefit both towns. Described as "football rivalry towns" [Kathy Bartolini 1993], Natick and Framingham collaborated to address their commercial identity and recently adopted intermunicipal regulations for the Golden Triangle. While the regulations and the dialogue between the two towns are remarkable achievements, the regulations are largely an aesthetic, landscaping device to beautify the current sprawled-out development. Only an overlay district, the regulations do not attempt to adopt a



12. Aerial view of the Golden Triangle

comprehensive vision for the area. This outcome may be a result of what Peter Rowe effectively captures in his book, Making a Middle Landscape, "there continues to exist feelings of superimposition and estrangement toward the commercial complex by many Framingham and Natick residents. Located out on the turnpikes, it is as if the complex was out of sight and out of mind, although clearly on matters of traffic congestion and visual encroachment it is not." [Rowe 1991: 15]

BACKGROUND

Natick and Framingham began as small commercial towns with flourishing shoe and carpet businesses. Gravitating toward critical infrastructure of the time, the centers of each town moved from Route 9 in the early 1800s, to clustered around the railroad in the early 1830s, and back out to Route 9 over a century later when commercial and industrial development boomed as early as 1950 and continued through to the mid 1980s. Shopper's World, a 500,000 sf out-door mall surrounded by parking lots, initiated development in the Golden Triangle in 1951. Over the next three decades, Natick Mall, Framingham Mall, strip development along Route 9, office complexes and motels sprouted up, achieving a grand total of 7 major malls, 6 hotels and 2 office parks with over 7.3 million sf of space. [Banker & Tradesman 1991b] ^{27 28}

As the Golden Triangle expanded and development grew along Route 9, there was a concern in the mid-80s by both the local residents and the State that growth in the area was affecting the quality of life and needed to be managed. In Framingham, for instance, there was a movement by the Citizens for Organized Growth between 1984-1985 to have a six-month development moratorium. ²⁹ And, upon a recommendation of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and a perceived need by local officials, the State created the MetroWest Growth Management Committee [MetroWest] in 1984 — consisting of elected officials and town Planning Board members — to act as the metropolitan planning agency for the

²⁷ On two occasions, each of the towns attempted to develop master plans in the 1960s and 1970s but failed both times to get them accepted by their Town Meetings.

²⁸ According to Karen Levine, growth in the towns throughout the 1950s to 1970s was driven by commercial/industrial growth, low residential taxes, job creation and automobile convenience. [Levine 1990: 85] In addition poor decisions about development during this time were made because of a lack of accountability by officials due to the decentralization of the government, no coordination among the different departments, and no agreement about how the area should develop. [Levine 1990: 46]

²⁹ This movement resulted in the adoption of an interim Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of .32 — based on the FAR of a few lots along Route 9. This interim FAR, which was randomly determined, became the base FAR for the Golden Triangle. It was assumed that once the Framingham comprehensive master plan was completed, a new underlying FAR would be determined. Efforts to address the underlying FAR are underway in Framingham today.

MetroWest subregion. In December of 1986, the Boards of Selectmen in Natick and Framingham agreed to work with MetroWest and the State on the Corridor Report — a study of development along Route 9 from Route 128 to I-495.³⁰ This effort evolved into the Golden Triangle Plan.

As a note, Natick and Framingham had different attitudes towards and mechanisms to address development in the area before they agreed to work together on the Golden Triangle Plan. While Framingham set FAR limitations and required a percentage (roughly 3%) of the total project costs for mitigation, it generally had a "laissez-faire" approach to development — encouraging any form of development and not placing additional burdens on developers.³¹ Natick did not have a required FAR, but had a maximum 30% building coverage, and more rigorous sign, landscape and parking requirements, which according to Marshall Lebowitz of Natick, resulted in adequate layouts, setbacks and building design.



13. Route 9, strip development and the entrance to Shoppers World — accommodating the car

³⁰ From interviews, the State, under the direction of Fred Salvucci, secretary of the Executive Office of Transportation and Construction, wanted to reduce crossovers along Route 9 and encouraged the towns to direct development to support this concept. This would have made Route 9 a throughway from Boston to Worcester and not a local arterial, which raised concerns about commercial viability. In addition, the State wanted to improve traffic signals, develop a transportation center and create direct access from Speen Street to the Mass Pike. [Gakenheimer 1990: 83]

³¹ The grandfather clause, which allows developers to overrule new downzoning for up to eight years once a project is approved, also plagues Framingham. [Gakenheimer et al: 79]

THE ISSUES, PRESSURES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The location of the Golden Triangle across town lines and the recognition that it was Natick and Framingham's responsibility to direct their own development, coupled with the perception that density in the Golden Triangle could double and exacerbate the existing traffic congestion, convinced the two towns to work together to determine a unified approach to the redevelopment of the Golden Triangle.³² The inconsistent treatment of the area by the two towns — allowing developers to play the towns off each other and the recognition by landowners that buildings had begun to decay (threatening the area's competitive edge) were also critical factors. This initial concern about "over development" evolved into the recognition that anticipated job growth and business expansion provided a planning opportunity for the two towns, not only to increase tax revenues but to enhance the quality of the area and provide public improvements as well.³³ The ability of the two towns to reach an agreement was possible because of a "few good men and women" who agreed on the substantive parameters of what influenced development: to ensure economic growth, the towns needed to provide an attractive area. [John Stasik and Marshall Lebowitz 1993] In addition, the Golden Triangle Plan would be implemented by an overlay district that did not alter the existing underlying zoning regulations, making it more acceptable to both residents and businesses.

Today, additional development pressures continue to swarm to the Golden Triangle. Over 2 million sf of commercial development is proposed in the Golden Triangle, creating 30,000 - 40,000 new trips per day on corridors and roadways that already exceed capacities. [David Kutner 1993] Natick Mall is being remodeled to include more up-scale retail such as Lord & Taylor and Shopper's World will be redeveloped as a "power center" of box retailers — a hub of "category killers."

³² In 1988, there were proposals to redevelop Shopper's World and West Park office park, expand Natick Mall, and build Zayre's corporate headquarters, flagging the potential of doubling the density in the Golden Triangle and increasing to the local traffic congestion.

³³ According to the Golden Triangle Plan market forces are pushing for more dense and intensive use of the Golden Triangle area. Between 1989 and 1994, there was an anticipated demand for over 7.5 million sf of wholesale and retail space and between 1.4 and 2.0 million sf of office space. [GTP 1990: 37]

<p align="center">Golden Triangle Plan Steering Committee</p> <p>A group consisting of representatives from the Planning Board, business and MetroWest to determine a joint municipal agreement about how to address development in the Golden Triangle area. This committee met from 1988 to 1990, and resulted in a plan for the area. Key members of the committee included John Stasik and Susan Bernstein of Framingham and Robert Eisenmenger of Natick.</p>
<p align="center">Golden Triangle Plan Sub Committee</p> <p>A group consisting of 2 members from each town Planning Board, 1 MetroWest member and 1 local businessman formed to modify the Golden Triangle Plan to better address small business concerns. This committee met from 1990 to 1992, and resulted in modified zoning by-laws consistent with the plan that were passed by both towns.</p>
<p align="center">MetroWest Growth Management Committee (MetroWest)</p> <p>A metropolitan regional body consisting of town selectmen and planning board members from seven localities in the MetroWest subregion. MetroWest is accountable to the towns it serves and attempts to encourage "joint action;" but it has no legislative power.</p>
<p align="center">IEP, Inc.</p> <p>Land use and growth management consultants to the Golden Triangle Plan Steering Committee.</p>
<p align="center">Development and Business Interests</p> <p>Homart, The Gutierrez Company and others. A group of local businessmen led by their consultant, Michelle Flaherty, raised opposition to the Golden Triangle Plan, encouraging the Golden Triangle Plan Subcommittee to include a local business representative.</p>
<p align="center">Other State Offices</p> <p>At the outset of the planning process, a number of state agencies were interested in shaping development in the Golden Triangle, especially as it related to transportation policy. They include: Executive Office of Transportation and Construction, Turnpike Authority, Central Transportation Planning Staff (CTPS), and Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority.</p>
<p align="center">Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC)</p> <p>The regional planning agency for the Boston metropolitan area. A study by the MAPC in 1984 indicated the need for a MetroWest subregional planning body. In addition, the Natick/Framingham area was initially targeted as a potential regional growth center in MAPC's MetroPlan 2000.</p>
<p align="center">MetroPlan 2000 Review Subcommittee</p> <p>A group of representatives from towns in MetroWest that reviewed the MetroPlan 2000 and recommended four acceptable density categories that allowed each of the communities to fit into the Plan without changing their existing Floor Area Ratio requirements. This subcommittee met at the same time the Golden Triangle Plan Steering Committee was meeting, but there was no exchange between the two.</p>

Table 5. Key Players and Interested Parties in Natick/Framingham

CURRENT APPROACHES TO GROWTH

Golden Triangle Plan Project and The Highway Overlay District Regulations

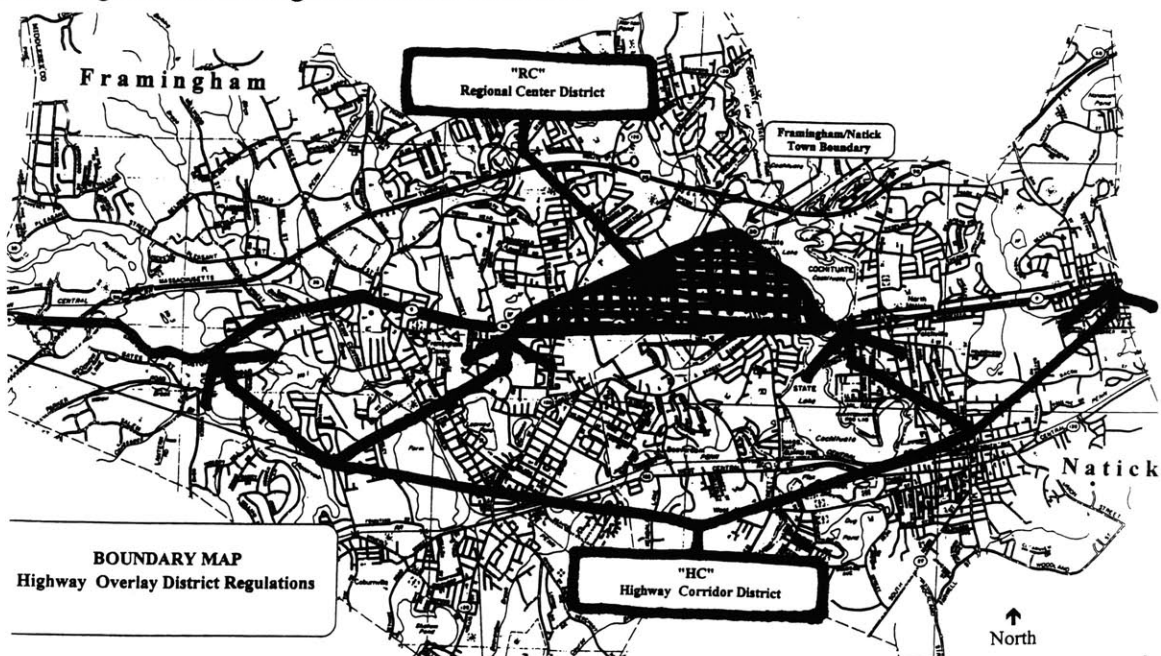
Natick and Framingham recently adopted a regulatory overlay district as part of the Golden Triangle Plan "to manage the intensity of development and the quality of design along major highway corridors." [Golden Triangle Plan Project 1992: 1] The overlay district was the result of a five-year planning effort first undertaken by the Golden Triangle Plan Steering Committee, and later fine-tuned by the Golden Triangle Plan Sub Committee to incorporate more small business interests and refine the landscape requirements.³⁴

³⁴ The Golden Triangle Sub Committee made a number of changes to the original plan that benefit small businesses. Standards can now be waived by the Planning Boards for small businesses such as Tropic Island, Captain Bob's and Duncan Donuts. And existing non-conforming uses under rehabilitation can develop up to .4 FAR, making it possible for small businesses to consolidate properties and meet landscaping requirements of the zoning by-laws.

MetroWest played a critical role at the outset of the planning process, providing technical assistance and guidance to the Steering Committee, and acting as the local conduit for the region and State. MetroWest played a smaller role in the Sub Committee because, according to Rosamond Delori, former Director of MetroWest, once the first draft of the plan was completed it was important for the ownership of the planning process to be transferred to the towns. [Rosamond Delori 1993]

The Golden Triangle Plan generally aimed to improve property values by making a more aesthetically-pleasing environment, thereby creating an incentive for current landowners to remain and others to invest in the area. To create such an environment, the Plan requires more open space buffer zones and landscaping as well as creates incentives to consolidate curb cuts and develop internal road systems.

The Highway Overlay District Regulations, the zoning by-laws of the Golden Triangle Plan, are the meat of the plan. The regulations establish two districts: the Regional Center District (RC) for the Triangle area and the Highway Corridor (HC) along Routes 9 and 30 from eastern Natick to western Framingham. A cap of .32 FAR cuts across both districts. Bonuses up to .4 FAR are granted for providing public amenities such as landscaping, consolidated lots and reduced curb cuts. (To this extent, the Plan concentrates growth in major commercial areas.) In addition, multi-story housing up to 1 FAR is only allowed in Framingham in the Regional Center Corridor.



14. Highway Overlay District Regulations — drawing out development along Route 9 and limiting densities in the Regional Center District

While the Golden Triangle Plan provides a more unified approach to development and design in the area, development is not as dense as the underlying zoning (.5 to .8 FAR). In addition, the overlay district will not affect many of the existing parcels. For example, the Framingham Planning Board did a parcel by parcel analysis and determined that over 50% of the parcels could double before the plan went into effect. [David Kutner 1993]

The towns are currently, however, cooperating on several projects on the town borders: the Homart development of Natick Mall and Shopper's World; Circuit City and the Cappuccino and Fun & Game development; and Home Quarters in West Park office park.

Implementation Strategy

The Highway Overlay District is the intermunicipal implementation tool.³⁵ Both towns now mutually review projects over 50,000 sf, and the Planning Boards have more control, whereby each can grant special permits for any project and issue a waiver for projects that will not have any detrimental impact on surrounding areas. However, sign and design review were eliminated from the process.

Home Quarters [HQ], a new development proposed by Guttierrez Company in Natick, is the first test of the mutual review process. HQ wants a single driveway while Shopper's World across the way in Framingham wants access through the site. According to Sue Bernstein, if HQ does not provide through access, Framingham may appeal the decision in court.

³⁵ The Highway Overlay District is only one part of the implementation plan for Framingham's comprehensive master plan. The next step in the development of this plan is to determine new underlying zoning by-laws that "reduce the overall development potential in the Golden Triangle and in the Route 9 Corridor from levels now permitted by zoning unless public benefits are provided" in an attempt to look at the area more comprehensively, not parcel by parcel. [Framingham Master Plan Policies 1992: 5]

OTHER KEY ISSUES

The Downtowns of Natick and Framingham

The Framingham and Natick Boards of Selectmen applied to and have been accepted by the Metropolitan Area Planning Council to develop their downtowns as concentrated development centers, as part of the MetroPlan 2000. Some are skeptical about these efforts. According to one interviewee, the decision to designate Framingham's downtown as a concentrated development center was just a way for the town to obtain infrastructure moneys from the State without committing to the MetroPlan 2000. And, the downtown is limited as a regional center. It can only support local and neighborhood companies that serve the surrounding residential areas. There are other restraints as well. For instance, the redevelopment of Natick's downtown is problematic because of land assemblage and the pressure to sell assembled land for tax reasons. [Robert Eisenmenger 1993]



15. Downtown Natick

PERCEPTION OF REGIONAL PLANNING

Work on the Golden Triangle Plan was already underway when the Metropolitan Area Planning Council [MAPC] formally introduced its regional growth center concept. However, the area was eventually targeted as a potential center. The interviews in Natick and Framingham confirmed many of the perceptions about regional planning, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and its MetroPlan 2000 that were identified in the Burlington case. Specifically, the MAPC is perceived as too bureaucratic and removed from the local community, with large meetings that end up with representatives rubber-stamping whatever the MAPC suggests; the MetroPlan 2000 is too infrastructure and parking oriented, does not include local visions and does not solve the local traffic problem; and there is no commitment from the MAPC for infrastructure money.

In addition, from an interview with Susan Bernstein who sat on the MetroPlan review committee, the MetroPlan 2000 raises two specific concerns: the Plan could eliminate the ability of the town to negotiate with a developer, putting the town "between a rock and a hard place" if the State wants less parking, for instance, and the developer wants more; and the Plan does not indicate how the MAPC will work with the town or how decisions should be made, or by whom.

While regional planning appears unlikely, an entity like MetroWest that is accountable to the local community and has representatives from neighboring communities may get more support. John Stasik, chair of the Golden Triangle Plan Subcommittee and active resident of Framingham, agrees that he is more amenable to an agency like MetroWest. But, it needs more financial support, staff and legislative authority.

FINDINGS

Planning mechanisms used in each of the cases to shape their redevelopment offer tools and ideas that could be used to achieve more concentrated development in suburban cities.

Quincy established a long-term planning mechanism — The Quincy 2000 Corporation — a private non-profit that, removed from the public sector, spans political administrations. The Corporation includes members from the government, business, interest groups and the public as its stockholders and an elected board of directors. While still in its infancy stage, the Corporation is creating a vision for Quincy. It has the support and commitment of the business community to provide insight and capital. It has a marketing component. It is using current technology to engage residents and others in the planning process. As such, the Corporation appears to be a model for a subregional body that could drive the planning process of more concentrated development in the Boston region and potentially govern these regional areas.

Driven by a shared commercial area and supported by a subregional body, Natick and Framingham established a working relationship and developed an intermunicipal regulatory agreement. Representatives from both towns were involved in the planning process. Businesses were actively engaged. The subregional MetroWest Growth Management Committee — which has local representation and is funded by its local members — provided start-up funding and technical assistance. The vision for the commercial Golden Triangle area, however, seems limited and too market driven. The regional entity could have played a larger role in helping the communities envision and direct their market potential.

The fact that the two towns collaborated to direct the growth of a common resource emphasizes the need to organize a subregional body around areas where there are shared interests. Furthermore, the willingness to work with such a subregional body empowered by local residents reinforces the need to adopt a more bottom-up approach to growth management in the region. For instance, a subregional body should include local representatives from government, business, public interest groups and residents from different towns that have an interest in a common resource such as a commercial center. In addition, such a body could provide technical assistance to help the communities envision and direct their market potential.

Burlington is using the master planning process to envision its future self. Burlington is first shaping its image, and then intends to relate that vision to the region. The master plan forum is a powerful educational tool. For instance, the land use and economic consultants present the issues, lay out the opportunities and obstacles, offer suggestions and solutions, and challenge resident members of the master plan committee to make their own decision. Burlington also conducted a survey that tapped the opinions of both residents and businesses which were used to shape the goals of the master plan. Such a process engages citizens and allows them to form an environment that meets their wants and needs. Furthermore, if lead by strong leaders, the process can not only build but direct consensus.

Burlington, however, has limited the role of the business community and has not engaged its neighboring towns or cities as active players in the process. In addition, it has limited its ability to spearhead a regional role. These "missed opportunities" seem to be both a result of a few individuals involved in the planning process and a general concern, or fear, of residents about development. The fact that there is continued resistance to growth and that individuals are shaping the interests of one municipality over their neighbors and the region, again emphasizes the need for an empowered subregional body with representatives from multiple local interests in the subregion. If the subregional body worked with communities sharing a common interest, such as a regional commercial center, perceptions about growth may change and consensus about a vision for the area may be reached.

Other findings that could support efforts for more concentrated development include:

IMAGELESSNESS

Each of the cases recognizes that it is imageless and that its image needs to be shaped and marketed. Today, the residents would not agree on the image of the town or city, and the areas are generally perceived by outsiders as regional attractions. For example, Burlington is Burlington Mall, Natick/Framingham is Shopper's World or Route 9, Quincy is the Fore River Shipyard and its association with the South Shore Mall in Braintree.

In struggling to create an image, each is trying to recreate and bolster the more nostalgic notion of the traditional/historic town/city. Burlington is rethinking its town common. Both Natick and Framingham are attempting to rebuild their downtowns. And, Quincy has focused its long term planning efforts on its downtown, which is its strategy to drive

economic development. In so doing, each has not recognized the full potential of the larger, regional commercial areas that are part of its current makeup.

As a result, especially in Burlington and Natick/Framingham, there continues to be reactive planning. Burlington down-zoned and took land through eminent domain in the late 80s. [Shaw 1990] However, in its master planning process, Burlington is considering transferring development rights, but only as a mechanism to mitigate traffic congestion and not as a part of a larger vision. Natick/Framingham created an overlay district with lower Floor Area Ratios (FARs) than the underlying pre-existing FAR. (This new FAR was based on a relatively random number that was proposed when residents were concerned about overdevelopment in the mid-80s.) This reliance on reactionary methods appears to be a remnant of the anti-development attitude in the late 80s and a denial of the regional commercial areas that constitute their regional image and role.

OPPORTUNITIES OF PLANNING

While there are remnants of reactive planning, there also appears to be an interest by those involved in the process to use planning as a proactive tool. The communities, for example, recognize that they can gain benefits for the community and achieve their vision by directing market-driven forces. Acknowledging that it is an attractive location for business, Burlington is tackling the issue of whether it will go for short term gain and allow "box retailers" like Costco to build or hold out for longer term investment like light manufacturing and small scale research and development activities. One of the key goals of the Golden Triangle Plan in Natick/Framingham was to tap market forces to create a more pleasant, landscaped environment. And, Quincy intends to conduct a market study to identify the special market lure of its downtown, which will then be directed to shape its downtown.

Burlington and Quincy are specifically studying their market opportunities. They intend to identify and examine their market niches to inform their long-term comprehensive plans. (Natick and Framingham through the Golden Triangle overlay district did not necessarily attempt to attract or direct a certain market. In general, they were reacting to the poor aesthetics and traffic congestion, and thereby encouraged more landscaping and fewer curb cuts.)

There is also a willingness to "sell" whatever image the few involved in the planning process shape. For example, members of the Burlington master planning committee recognize that once the committee agrees on a plan for Burlington, it will need to "sell" that plan to the Town Meeting and the existing and future businesses. And, planning in Quincy is about image: its historical sites. With the second largest number of historic sites in Massachusetts next to Boston, Quincy is promoting itself as a historic tourist attraction. The expected tourism is intended to complement the efforts to boost economic development in the downtown.

This recognition of the benefits of planning could support regional planning efforts.

PERCEPTION OF CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT

From those interviewed, concentrated development is perceived as two overarching forms: regional centers and traditional downtown centers. Regional centers are seen as the commercial areas that have sprouted over the past two decades — or areas where development has been concentrated — and characterized by office towers, retail and parking lots. Traditional downtown centers are described generally as areas of dense, low-height commercial areas organized around a subway station and within walking distance of residential neighborhoods, such as Harvard Square or Brookline Center.

There is overall disdain for existing regional centers and a general understanding by most of the planners (but not necessarily the laypersons involved in planning) of the theory of more regional concentrated development: a commercial core surrounded by a residential neighborhood and linked by public transportation. However, many planners were not sold on the concept, basically because it does not address the American Dream of a 1/4 acre lot single-family home and car, or the issue of "home rule."

Furthermore, there is more acceptance of traditional centers. However, it is recognized that these traditional centers may not be realistic for many suburbs, mainly because of the lack of subway/rail access and the fact that the centers are a result of layering development over time.

PERCEPTION OF REGIONAL PLANNING

The general reaction to the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC), the regional planning agency of the Boston area, is that it is too big: members just rubber stamp decisions; it is not accountable; and it does not share the agenda or vision of individual towns or cities. In addition, because the MAPC does not have any statutory power and individual municipalities control their land use and development decisions, the MAPC does not pose a threat to local jurisdiction. Bernice Mader of Quincy likened regional planning in the Boston region to "a vaccine that never took."

Of those interviewed who were aware of MAPC's MetroPlan 2000, there was consensus that: 1) the Plan is merely the implementation of infrastructure; 2) the relationship between the town/city and the MAPC and what is expected of the town/city is not clear; 3) by allowing any community to nominate itself and by not predetermining any conditions, the plan just acknowledges what already exists; 4) the plan will not directly effect the individual town or city, so it is not concerned or interested. In one interview, the MetroPlan process was labeled a class struggle, placing regional centers in poorer suburbs such as Burlington, Natick/Framingham and Quincy. Furthermore, there was a general annoyance that, if the MAPC is going to use the threat of directing infrastructural moneys, it should be able to commit moneys simultaneously with development plans for the area, reassuring communities that they will not be abandoned if they agree to develop as more regional centers.

MAPC may have failed in its efforts to establish a regional plan because it may have adopted a too top down, removed approach rather than working with the communities to identify and accommodate their needs [Terry Szold 1993] while it did not provide a vision for regional concentrated development centers [Gary Hack 1993]. For instance, one of the interviewees claimed that the MAPC initially asked localities to provide information about themselves, but then the MAPC interpreted the information differently than how the towns understood it, creating friction.

REGIONAL PLANNING OPPORTUNITIES

While regional planning by a "top down" agency is shunned, there appears to be a willingness to work with smaller regional bodies that have local representation and local funding. The MetroWest Growth Committee, for instance, was well-received by the

Golden Triangle Plan Steering Committee. MetroWest provided technical assistance to educate members of the Committee and acted as a local conduit to the State Executive Office of Communities and Development. Although it was initially established with funding from the State, MetroWest later relied solely on local contributions. According to the new MetroWest director, this was because of a concern about State interests, and not wanting to be obligated to the State.

Terry Szold, Planning Director of Burlington, in response to how she would conduct regional planning in the Boston area, claimed she would first work with the communities within prime regional locations to identify their interests and empower them in the regional planning process. She would then allow them to direct their growth within an agreed upon regional comprehensive plan, overseen by empowered regional entities. Szold's response reiterates the need to include local representatives actively in the process and to provide a sense of local flexibility and autonomy. With its initial conversations with the North Suburban Chamber of Commerce to devise a subregional body that could recruit businesses and help Burlington achieve its vision, Burlington is setting the stage to do just that.

LIMITED EMPHASIS ON DESIGN AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

There is a limited emphasis on design in the planning process. In general, each of the cases is focusing more on economic development than identifying an overall "suburban design" scheme. Burlington and Quincy are interested in reviving underutilized parcels that could deteriorate further. And Natick and Framingham are more interested in maintaining the existing development and dressing it up with landscaping rather than creating a vision for the Golden Triangle. While each has determined, or is determining, its own framework, the framework generally tweaks what already exists and piece-meals parcels together. Burlington and Quincy have kernels of visionary design schemes, however, it is too early in both of their planning processes to determine the final outcomes.

While congestion concerns are central to planning in each of the cases, transportation alternatives such as transit are peripheral. In Natick and Framingham, the transportation issue is maintaining local access to Route 9. Even Quincy which has the potential for a commuter station is focusing on the potential "cross-town connector," providing passage by and through the downtown by car. According to a few interviewees, one of the reasons Quincy is not emphasizing the commuter station is because the city does not have much

control over the location decision. While the final Burlington master plan will include a transportation component, the committee is not reviewing transportation and land use issues simultaneously. This separation of the issues may result in decisions by the committee that are not as well-informed as they could be. Further, by limiting the role of transportation in the discussion of land-use and economic development, Burlington has missed the opportunity to reshape the perceptions of public transportation.

INDIVIDUALS IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

Individuals often drive the planning process. This was very evident in all of the cases. In Burlington, Terry Szold is a strong leader who is directing the master plan process and acting as "guard dog" against any development that is not appropriate for the town. The planning consultants in Burlington, and John Mullin in particular, are also shaping the master planning process through their ability to present and control information. The Mayor of Quincy and his assistant, Bernice Mader, appear to be running and planning the city themselves. Both were inspired by the history of Quincy, saw an opportunity to market Quincy as a tourist attraction and developed it — to the point that it is now a full-fledged citywide campaign. And in Natick and Framingham, John Stasik was almost solely responsible for the two towns working together.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROSPECTS OF CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT

IN THE BOSTON METROPOLITAN REGION

The Boston metropolitan region is unique compared to many metropolitan areas in the nation, and therefore, requires special conditions to make concentrated development possible. As discussed in *The Boston Metropolitan Region*, Boston and its surrounding areas are mostly developed, resulting in little available land, an oversupply of office space, a smaller population pool, and higher land, energy and labor costs than many other metropolitan regions — discouraging future development. [Gakenheimer et al 1990] Residential neighborhoods and suburban office parks are sprawled across the region, creating traffic congestion, threatening New England character and making it difficult to establish a public transportation system. Meanwhile, traditional downtowns, challenged by regional suburban centers, have persisted. And, towns and cities are autonomous, weakening the ability to plan regionally.

Suburban centers such as Burlington, Quincy and Natick/Framingham provide the opportunity to begin to address these problems by concentrating development. While some planners believe such suburbs will remain subcenters of Boston and not grow because of the lack of transportation to these areas, the inability to build roads and gain right of ways, the limited amount of people to support transportation and the saturated office market, [Ackerman 1991a] the timing is right to envision what these subcenters could be and establish an institutional framework to direct — and concentrate — future regional development. First, relatively little anticipated development in the region not only demands that the limited development be guided, but also provides the opportunity to plan. Second, there is a growing recognition of the impacts of regional centers beyond municipal borders, and the need for municipalities to work together. Third, from the three cases, regional growth centers recognize the need to create a new image. Fourth, again from the three cases, planning is perceived as a tool to direct development, not halt it. And finally, the Boston metropolitan region will be required to identify a regional transportation plan that improves air quality and meets recently adopted federal air quality standards. [see *Appendices, p 86*]

OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT

Burlington, Quincy and Natick/Framingham have the basic conditions required for concentrated development. Each contains existing regional development that provides a more secure investment environment; is attractive to current, and eventually future, regional demand for development; is accessible by major roadways and transit; has vacant land available; and offers the opportunity to create two centers — a traditional center and a regional center.

In addition, each of the cases has particular opportunities for more concentrated development. Burlington has quality businesses, a good water and sewer system, off-site improvements such as the Mall Road paralleling Route 128, and an accessible mix of housing in the region — all attractive qualities to future development. While it is missing transit, the main ingredient necessary for a regional concentrated development center, Burlington could spearhead the development of a circumferential transportation system for express buses along Route 128 that is also linked to Boston. Burlington also has large parcels of vacant land, specifically the 250-acre land-locked parcel, that could provide more leeway for Burlington to develop a concentrated mixed-use environment. Development along Route 128 could potentially be separate from single-family residential neighborhoods and connected to the highway, thereby making the regional center independent of Burlington. It lacks, however, the political will to create a more urban environment.

Natick and Framingham recognize that they share a regional commercial center. Unlike the other cases, the two towns worked together and with a subregional body — the MetroWest Growth Management Committee — to identify an intermunicipal regulatory process that will guide development in the Golden Triangle. There is more current (and expected) development activity occurring in the Golden Triangle than in the other two cases. Framingham is attractive to current housing demand. There is the potential to connect the Golden Triangle to the commuter rail line in the downtowns of Natick and Framingham and to reconfigure access to the Massachusetts Turnpike, potentially providing an opportunity for a bus service linking town centers with downtown Boston. However, the two towns are catering to major retailers and lack the political will for a coordinated vision of the area. As Karen Levine observes, "Most importantly, without an institutional system that supports coordinated and collective decision-making, and which recognizes the essential relationship between economics, land use and infrastructure, successful implementation of a plan [for the Golden Triangle] will remain impossible." [Levine 1990: 84]

While the first two cases have the potential to develop into concentrated development centers, Quincy has many of the basic building blocks required for such development. Quincy recognizes it is a regional center and that it has historical resources that could serve as tourist attractions. Quincy has a concentrated downtown with vacant or underutilized parcels and a unique retail market attraction. Quincy has a transit line that is connected to both its downtown and regional employment centers, as well as the opportunity to place a commuter station in its downtown that is connected to Boston and serves the South Shore region. Quincy has a long-range planning mechanism to direct and mold its vision. Quincy has the political will to support concentrated development. As seen by its "Cleaner, Greener Quincy" campaign and the establishment of the Quincy 2000 Corporation, the Mayor's office is creating a physical and regulatory environment that is conducive to attracting and supporting business. Further, as the South Shore labor force may require lower wages than the North Shore, Quincy may also be very attractive to certain service, research and development, and some manufacturing industries — including those that may leave Boston during the Central Artery project.

To effectively direct more concentrated development, however, Quincy would need to change its zoning regulations, specifically its height and housing restrictions. And, as existing vacancies are not necessarily close enough to assemble and adapt to new uses, land assemblage in the downtown would also be a major issue. To begin to meet this problem, Quincy is using a unique approach. The Quincy Corporation intends to work with existing entities such as Quincy College, the court house and the Registry of Motor Vehicles to identify their growing or unmet needs, thereby filling an existing demand and potentially activating and expanding the downtown up.

Concentrated development of Burlington, Quincy and Natick/Framingham could benefit the region. It could potentially create more pedestrian-friendly mixed-use areas that would begin to bridge the job/housing gap, reduce the commutershed, contain development sprawling west, and eventually support a regional transportation system. While there may be other suburbs more appropriate for concentrated development in the region, the three selected cases are prime candidates. Spread out almost equi-distant along a semi-circle around Boston, the three cases are meeting subregional demands. It is even conceivable that, while each would be a mixed-use center, each could serve different functions regionally. For example, Natick and Framingham with their current attraction to the



16. MBTA Station linked to State Street office complex in Quincy, providing opportunities to create a regional concentrated development center connected with transit



17. Vacant land in Crown Colony office complex in Quincy near I-95 and Route 3, also providing opportunities to create a regional concentrated development center

demand for housing and central location, could serve as more of a residential hub, helping to contain residential development within the I-495 ring. Burlington, with its medical clinic could serve as a center for research and development. And Quincy, with its historical attractions and potential competitive edge over the north shore for attracting service industries, could be a tourist center and regional employment center. Collectively, they could create an arc of concentrated development centers around Boston that could be linked to each other and Boston by a public transportation system.

WHAT IS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE MORE CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT

Given the constraints in the Boston metropolitan region and learning from the lessons of the case studies, certain conditions would have to be met to achieve concentrated development in the Boston metropolitan region. First, areas most appropriate regionally for concentrated development would have to be targeted (most likely by the State) to encourage and attract investment and create a more secure development environment. This top-down approach would be necessary at first to limit conflicts among municipalities and to demonstrate a commitment to the plan by the State. Second, the State would need to empower subregional entities organized around these areas — or shared resources. These bodies would include local public and private representatives who would be responsible for development, and thereby own their own development process.³⁶ Third, these areas would need access to highway and transit systems, making it more possible to explore public transportation alternatives. Fourth, regional planners would need to work with the local representatives of the subregional entities and citizens to understand what is important to them about growth in their area and to inform them about the opportunities of concentrated development. And finally, two types of centers would need to be created to serve local and regional demands and to satisfy the yearning for New England character. [see *Minimal Conditions for Concentrated Development*, p 71]

The key to making concentrated development work in the Boston metropolitan region is the creation of empowered subregional entities with local representatives that can make long-range collective and comprehensive decisions about the development of suburban growth areas. These bodies would be smaller than the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and would have more legislative power than the MetroWest Growth Management Committee.

³⁶ In the Boston metropolitan region, regional planning institutions should respect local municipalities and emphasize creating a place over providing infrastructure. By the State empowering subregional entities to control and envision development while providing support and technical assistance, it may be possible to accomplish this.

These bodies would consist of local representatives from municipalities in and around major growth areas, and would be guided by a hired director, an elected board of directors, and members of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and the State. Similar to the Quincy 2000 Corporation, the representatives and board of directors would include governmental officials, businessmen, members of public interest groups and individual citizens. In determining who is represented in the bodies, it is critical to engage key people who are active at the local planning level, and who may be the best "visionaries" for the region. The scale of a subregional body may allow for election or even recruitment of such people.

Members of the subregional bodies would be responsible for envisioning, implementing, managing and governing the areas targeted for more concentrated development. In this process, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council would provide technical assistance and would serve as a referee to any conflicts between or among subregional bodies. However, it would not necessarily need more legislative power than it has today. The subregional entities could further micro-manage development in the subregion by overseeing a series of what Marybeth Shaw calls "interjurisdictional land use and transportation planning copacts" [Shaw 1990: 17] — agreements made between or among municipalities that share an interest in certain development projects within their jurisdictions.

To address "fiscal zoning" and inequities that may emerge from concentrated development on the regional scale, these subregional bodies could also have a financial branch that would pool and distribute money from property taxes across the subregion by residential population like what is being done in the Minneapolis/St. Paul region. With public and private representation from a number of municipalities with common interests in the region, the subregional bodies may be more responsible and have a deeper interest in the well-being of the region.

IN OTHER STATES AND METROPOLITAN REGIONS

State growth management policies that have evolved over the past fifteen years, and now integrate land use with transportation planning, offer models for how to achieve concentrated development. State growth management emerged in the 1970s with a focus on environmental planning, and in the late 1980s and 1990s adopted a more collaborative approach that establishes a state-regional-local relationship that strengthens regional governance and places the implementation of state policies more or less in local hands. [Bollens 1992, DeGrove 1992] To gain public support of higher densities that accommodate growth while protecting the natural environment, state growth management policies, in general, mandate areas for more concentrated development while encouraging the application of design standards. [DeGrove 1992] To further gain support of growth management strategies, DeGrove argues that "whether a system is 'imposed' from the top down, or 'built' from the bottom up, an inclusionary and participatory process for developing growth management goals, objectives, and strategies is necessary and desirable, from the perspectives of both planning and politics." [DeGrove 1992: 156]

The cases of Vermont and Oregon reveal some of the obstacles and opportunities of establishing a state and regional growth management policy. Vermont is an example of a more top-down approach to growth management that in the wake of resistance is shifting to a more collaborative approach. Oregon is an example of a more collaborative approach whereby a regional body that more recently encouraged participation in the "visioning process" has gained more acceptance and control over the 20 years since its inception.

VERMONT

With the construction of I-91 in the 1960s, relatively inexpensive land in Vermont became accessible. There was a concern that Vermont would become the suburb of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, especially as there were few communities with zoning regulations or the capacity to handle development regulation. To maintain its rural nature, Vermont passed the 1970 Environmental Control Act (Act 250). Generally growth restrictive, the Act originally included three components: an interim plan, a land and development plan, and a state land use planning law. However, the land use component was never passed by the Legislature. Without the state land use planning component, Vermont was left with a regulatory permitting process and not a comprehensive approach to the type and location of development. [Bollens 1992, Larose 1991] To address this limitation the Vermont Growth Management Act of 1988 (Act 200) was passed by the Legislature under Governor Madelaine Kunin.

Under the initial Act 200, elected Regional Planning Commissions (RPCs) were responsible for identifying regional resources, determining regional plans that were consistent with 32 state goals and overseeing local plan development and coordination with regional plans. To be approved by the RPCs, local plans were expected to be consistent with the state goals and "compatible" with regional and neighboring municipal plans. Approved plans then had to comply with other regulations in Act 200, but also received benefits: state planning money, ability to levy impact fees, and a more expedient review process.

While Act 200 was successful during its first two years of implementation, organized resistance lead by the group Citizens for Property Rights (CPR) in 1989 and 1990 resulted in changes that weakened the regional capacity of the law. General criticisms of the Act were that the process was too restrictive on development, stripping private property-owners of their rights, land use decisions were too top-down, and there were too many state land use goals. As a result, the Regional Planning Commissions could only make suggestions about local plans that did not meet the state's planning goals, so that all municipalities became eligible for Act 200's benefits.

Vermont's growth management policy is a top-down regulatory process, and not a proactive planning process whereby the community members weigh the costs and benefits of development within their communities. [Bollens 1992, Larose 1992] Suggestions have been made to encourage more negotiation and establish "development centers." Such centers may be more amenable to developers, as they would have the assurance from the community. But, "growth centers" still are designated at both the local and regional level, which may result in local resistance. And furthermore, by identifying areas for development, other areas are restricted, creating an issue about just compensation.

OREGON

Oregon, and particularly the Portland metropolitan region, experienced high growth in its economy, job rate and population in the 1960s and 1970s and in the latter half of the 1980s. Steady growth is expected for the next two decades. In response to its initial growth spurt and to manage future growth, Oregon's state and regional planning policies and programs now attempt to balance growth encouragement with growth restraint.

At the state level, the Oregon Land Use Act of 1973 aims to preserve agriculture land, conserve forest land, provide for a variety of housing, and urbanize. Each city is obligated to work with the county to establish its urban growth boundary [UGB] — a boundary around a developed area where development is encouraged inside and discouraged outside. The general approach is to treat city and country property owners fairly to establish a sense of reasonableness. Not only is growth generally contained within the urban growth boundaries, but growth on non-farm and non-forest land is also directed by zoning. Also, a just fiscal system is linked to easily-understood concepts such as housing that is affordable and the reduction of taxes. Under the law, each community is encouraged to submit a comprehensive plan to the state administrative agency, which in turn recommends it to the state policy-making body appointed by the governor. The local governments are also required to conduct inventories of industrial and commercial land for future development. There are incentives and disincentives to comply with the state goals. The local government has full authority to implement a plan approved by the LCDC, otherwise each land use decision of an unapproved plan has to comply with these goals.

At the regional level, the Portland Metropolitan Service District (Metro) —created in 1979 — is an elected regional body with members from 12 council districts that provides services, coordinates planning in the region, and administers Portland's regional urban

growth boundary. The majority of Metro's money for land use planning comes from local dues. [DeGrove 1992] And, by statute, it is able to require localities to change their comprehensive plans. To date, all the cities (23) and counties (3) within the Portland metropolitan region have determined urban growth boundaries to accommodate anticipated growth. Also, zoning was changed in the suburbs to smaller lots for single-family houses and more allowable multifamily housing, both located near either a transit stop or express bus line.

In 1989, the Metro initiated a visioning process for the region which engaged the public through committees, workshops and conferences. By 1991, the regional urban growth goals and objectives (RUGGOs) were adopted, including two central goals: 1) a regional planning partnership that engages citizen participation; and 2) an urban form which links planning for the natural and built environments with growth management aimed to concentrate development in areas already developed. Meanwhile, Metro established regional "home rule" (by the voters in the district) to implement that vision in 1990, and may eventually become self-governing.

Studies have been done to assess the success of the growth management policy, and they indicate a bittersweet picture. Development has occurred outside the UGBs, (up to 57% [Bollens 1992]) which may require policy changes such as requiring minimum densities within UGBs and reserving land for urban areas. The "pro-housing" policies have curtailed rising housing costs even though land zoned for housing is underdeveloped according to allowable densities. And density increased by 13 to 32% across the state. [DeGrove 1992] In addition, up to 85% of state highway expenditure has targeted areas outside the urban growth boundaries, detracting from the intentions of the boundaries and emphasizing the need to further coordinate state activities to support the overall growth goals. [Bollens 1992] In 1991, however, the state went a step further and mandated the "transportation rule," which integrates land use and transportation planning and aims to reduce the use of the car within and outside the urban growth boundaries. [DeGrove 1992]

LESSONS FROM VERMONT AND OREGON

The cases of Vermont and Oregon present several lessons about how to approach state and regional growth management and concentrated development. To begin the process, the state needs to empower regional bodies and initially target key areas for further growth, while allowing local governments to identify their own growth goals. But in so doing, it is critical to establish a system of just compensation for areas that are not targeted. Once a structure has been established, a collaborative approach that engages citizens early in the regional planning process is important in order to establish local ownership and gain broader recognition of the mutual benefits of regional planning. As part of this process, it is necessary to establish a fair negotiation atmosphere, whereby information and desires of the different interested parties are shared. It is also important to envision, starting during the initial stages of the process and continuing throughout. As regional bodies gain power, it is also important to maintain local representation in the regional entities. And overall, simplify the process both in determining goals for the region and in setting regulations. It is critical to establish strict but simple parameters that can foster and channel development towards the desired vision of the region. Meanwhile, the actions and policies by the state need to be supportive of the efforts at the regional and local level.

MINIMAL CONDITIONS FOR CONCENTRATED DEVELOPMENT

As seen by the Vermont and Oregon cases and what would be required in the Boston metropolitan region, concentrated development depends on a planning approach that links land use with transportation planning. Such an approach attempts to balance residential, commercial and economic growth with the preservation of the natural environment. The intent of such a linked approach is to first focus on how a place is used and functions — its land use — and form a place where people want to live and work, and then design transportation and other infrastructure to support that development. [Cervero 1991] This way, environments for people are emphasized over infrastructure. *[It is vital, however, to assure that the development of land and the infrastructure bolster one another throughout the planning and development process.]* By focusing on the form of the place, growth controls and other planning mechanism become tools to achieve larger community or regional goals. [Landis 1992] Such an approach to planning challenges communities to rethink existing practices and determine new angles to achieve a desired outcome. As Mark Hanson emphasizes, "Communities will have to consider existing incentives in land markets, housing markets and transportation systems; the structure of impact fees; and physical planning factors, if they are to guide development in new directions." [Hanson 1992]



18. Audubon Court in New Haven, CT mixing townhouses with commercial space and retail

Lessons from the Boston metropolitan region and the state growth management cases suggest the following minimal conditions would be needed to achieve concentrated development:

1) A regional framework that designates centers, links land use development with transportation and supports local planning

The strategy and form nature of concentrated development requires "top-down" and "bottom up" control. First, as a "top-down" measure, the State working with regional bodies would need to determine an overall regional strategy that links land use with transportation and targets areas most appropriate for concentrate development. Ideally, these areas would need to have access to existing highway and transit systems, quality regional development, available land, and the political will to concentrated development. Regional and state actions and investments, such as determining a regional transportation plan, would also need to support such a framework. Second, as a "bottom-up" measure, the State would need to empower subregional bodies with local public and private representatives from towns and cities in and around the designated areas. Members of the subregional entities would be responsible for envisioning, developing, implementing, managing and governing these areas. Representatives from the region and State would serve to provide technical assistance. These subregional entities would help to gain local political support for concentrated development and serve as a mechanism to make long-range planning decisions. [see *In the Boston Metropolitan Region*, p 60]

2) Mechanisms to balance the inequalities of concentrated development

To assure that areas not targeted for concentrated development in the region as well as individual property owners are not discriminated against, mechanisms to share profits and costs of concentrated development would need to be identified. These could include: pooling and distributing property taxes regionally; creating public/private partnerships that oversee portions or all of the development; and focusing on vacant and underutilized land.

3) A process to envision concentrated development

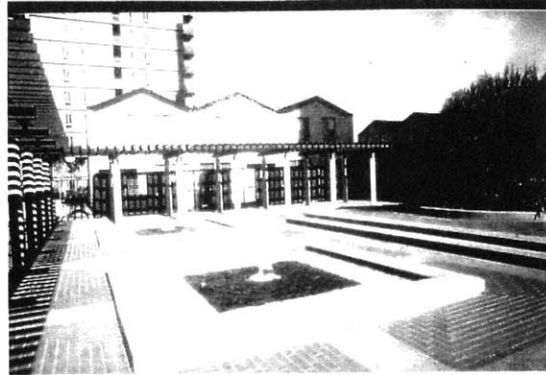
Members of the subregional bodies would be responsible for identifying a vision for the area, determining the appropriate mix of uses and establishing a simplified regulatory process to support development in the areas designated for concentrated development. In this process, regional and state planners (who are members of the subregional bodies) would need to work with local representatives in the subregional entities and concerned

citizens to identify what is important to them about development in their area and inform them about the opportunities of concentrated development. Critical to this process would be the establishment at the outset that the members of the subregional entities are responsible for creating their own vision, and that the regional and state representatives are there to support them and provide them with suggestions that could benefit the area, their communities and the region as a whole. As the Vermont case suggests, it would also be important to establish a fair negotiation environment whereby the different needs and concerns of the public and private representatives would be heard.

To begin, members of the regional body and state would need to do their homework. A set of generic design standards for regional concentrated development centers (such as those used by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk for their town planning) would need to be developed to serve as a baseline for the envisioning process. Regional and state planners would also need to identify and present well-designed and built examples of dense mixed-use pedestrian environments that share some of the design standards. Audubon Court in New Haven, CT and the Golden Gateway development in San Francisco, CA are just two examples, demonstrating the ability to create varied mixed-use dense environments that are habitable.

A variety of images from the area designated for concentrated development would also need to be assembled and presented. Presenting these images could accomplish three goals: 1) encourage acceptance for concentrated development; 2) dissuade general opposition to higher density; and 3) gather a general sense of what residents like and dislike within their community. New interactive computer technology could also be used in this process to more clearly identify how people would like their area to grow and to demonstrate mixed-use environments. This process could help the regional planner better understand the desires of the local representatives while also shedding some of the misperceptions about density and development. Hopefully, the standards for concentrated development and what is unique to a particular community could be fused in such a visioning process.³⁷

³⁷ From the interviews and what I observed in the Burlington master plan committee meetings, I believe that such a process could be achieved. People who are involved in the planning process have perceptions about what they want but also an openmindedness about "existing conditions" and what could be.



19. 20. & 21. Golden Gateway development in San Francisco that mixes housing within a commercial district and above a retail street — a potential model for the regional concentrated development center

Once a plan for the area is agreed upon, an overlay district monitored by members of the subregional entity could be created. Such a district may gather less resistance from residents in the various towns and cities, and would include revised zoning densities and mix of uses. Design standards and design review would also be critical to guide development of the area. The design review process could even act as an incentive for developers, while encouraging development that follows the guidelines. For example, the process could be simplified for a proposed project that follows specified guidelines — reducing regulatory time and providing a "picture" of development that will be approved in the area.

4) Accommodating the "American Dream"

As part of the visioning process of concentrated development centers, it would be important to emphasize the need to accommodate the "American Dream" while creating alternatives to meet changing demographic needs. The Transit Oriented Development concept, for example, provides transportation alternatives while accommodating the car.

As suggested by the cases in the Boston metropolitan region, the creation of two types of concentrated development centers within suburbs may also be an option: the traditional center and the regional center. The traditional center could serve the locals or specialized purposes such as tourism and accommodate the American Dream, while the regional center could provide an alternative way of suburban living, serving a more urban suburbanite and the region. It may also be possible to contain the more regional center along major roadways and transit lines, while linking it by a street system to nearby neighborhoods.

5) A secure, simplified but directed regulatory process for investment

A regional framework that identifies areas for concentrated development and sets up a simplified regulatory process at the local level would help to make a more secure environment for investors interested in the region. "Carrots" and "sticks" could also be employed including: "suburban" growth boundaries that designate areas for development while providing enough space for developers to be flexible; government subsidies and incentives for infill projects; impact fees on projects with regional impact; and higher property taxes on low-density development.

In identifying a vision for concentrated development, it may also be possible to create development opportunities that would otherwise go unrealized. For example, while retail generally requires surface parking, easy drop-off and high visibility, it may be possible to convince retailers that a pedestrian-friendly mixed-use environment that serves a regional population could help business. Apparently, it is possible for an employment center or an area with an historic attraction to support retail along a street, as long as there are high enough densities. [Phillips 1989] The vision for concentrated development, therefore, would need to demonstrate that retailers concerns have been considered. It would need to provide high enough densities, a mix of uses that would complement such retail development, and assure access to a population that could financially support the project. Incentives such as direct access to a transit station or major highway would have to be created to encourage retailers to comply with the standards and make doing business in the area worth their while.

EPILOGUE

One of the larger obstacles to concentrated development is the market: commercial needs and the number of people and their preferences. Karen Levine emphasizes this in her thesis on the Golden Triangle: "Because of the manner in which the market has responded to certain properties of the growth center, such as the large scale of development, the accommodation to the automobile, and the prominence of high-speed roadways, separation and differentiation, rather than coordination between uses, has become the most profitable mode of development. This further adds to the improbability of the growth center functioning efficiently." [Levine 1990: 90]

However, today several factors contribute to a climate of potential change. With the quality of suburban life declining, changing demographic trends, federal transportation "carrots" linked with air quality standard "sticks," a growing acceptance of centralized planning, an awareness of the need for alternatives to sprawling development, recognition that current transportation management techniques are inadequate, and a slow demand for development, the timing is right to envision concentrated development and to establish an institutional framework that links regional land use with transportation.

Market opportunities accompany these changing times. For example, mixed use projects — especially in areas where there has already been development — are currently attractive to builders because they are more secure in a varied economy than projects such as office buildings or housing. Through the use of incentives, the possibility even exists to link housing that is affordable to mixed-use developments, which could help divert some of the demand for housing away from the less expensive peripheral regions. Such development opportunities should be identified and used advantageously.

Concentrated development depends on market demands. Thus, regional market analysis to determine locations most appropriate for development as well as proper phasing of projects on site is critical. If demands are channeled and projects are phased successfully, it may be possible to even create demand for concentrated development.

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APPENDICES

INTERMODAL SURFACE TRANSPORTATION EFFICIENCY ACT

The federal Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) provides an opportunity to bridge the link between transportation and land use planning. With funding of \$144 billion over six years just authorized in 1992, ISTEA presents a more balanced approach to transportation than in the past. It provides an 80% federal match for both transit and highway projects; allows more flexibility in the spending of transportation funds;³⁷ requires the first state transportation plan while emphasizing the need for local participation early in the planning process; and is closely integrated with the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.

Funding flexibility creates competition and forces individual states to set their priorities and identify a plan that also meets the Clean Air Act's requirements. Between 1994 and 1996, metropolitan areas over 200,000 that have not met the federal air quality standards will be required to comply with regulations, or they may lose their federal funding under ISTEA. In addition, all projects within such metropolitan regions have to follow the plan devised by the metropolitan planning organization in that region. The funding incentive, the required state plan and the metropolitan responsibility to achieve the clean air standards further pose a challenge to local officials to become involved in transportation planning decisions hopefully through a good working relationship with the regional planning bodies. [Janet Oakley 1991] Since it is argued that concentrated development on a regional scale can contribute to improved air quality, it could be a potential strategy and form to help metropolitan areas meet their air quality standards.

ISTEA money is thus available to plan and educate, which could be used to help envision what the "second life" of suburban cities could be and to inform the public and the development community about some of the potential benefits of this new vision. Furthermore, money could be spent on planning to establish metropolitan growth boundaries, reduce parking requirements, implement business improvement districts, and set up a parking authority. [Christopher Leinberger in Dep't of Transportation 1992]

³⁷ ISTEA provides secure funding directly to urban areas, allocates money to states with metropolitan areas that do not meet air quality standards (that then in turn compete for that money), and allows flexibility of National Highway System money that can be spent on transit and local roads. [Janet Oakley 1991]

METHODS

LITERATURE REVIEW

I conducted a literature review covering a broad range of issues, including: land use, transportation, design of suburban cities, state growth management, and sustainability. I attempted to gather literature that presented different positions about concentrated development, as well as analyzed the likelihood of such development.

CASE STUDY RESEARCH

I initially developed a set of general research questions that I asked across the three cases. Once I had a basic understanding of the main issues, I drafted more detailed questions about each case.

In my interviews, I first spoke with a key person from each case who was recommended by professors at MIT and who I knew could give me an historical overview of current planning in that town or city. I also asked each person if there were others I should talk with. To gather additional names of people, I reviewed minutes of committee meetings, plans and newspaper articles and asked each person I interviewed if there was anyone else I should talk with. When I asked each person for names, I emphasized that I was interested in getting a cross-section of people, such as local and regional planners, business representatives, public interest groups, and residents involved in planning. When I interviewed, I also let people know who else I had spoken with or planned to talk to in order to encourage reactions about issues and to ensure the credibility of the research. I selected people who represented different opinions and positions about planning in each town or city and who could highlight aspects about the case.

I consistently collected relevant reports, plans and statistical data from each case. In addition, I regularly attended the master plan committee meetings in Burlington.

ORGANIZATION OF DATA

I organized the data I collected in several forms to help me analyze. I transcribed each interview from my notes, made timelines of each case study, organized statistical and demographic data about the cases in matrixes, and wrote up preliminary case studies organized around my questions.

OTHER

I also interviewed a couple of representatives of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and attended the Transportation Planning for Livable Communities conference.

INTERVIEWEES

BURLINGTON

Frank Baxter

member of planning committee, representative of Metropolitan Area Planning Council and Burlington resident

Robert Factor

esquire and Burlington resident

Joanne Hartley

vice president of Spaulding Investment Company, Inc.

Jack Kelly

new chair of master plan committee and Burlington resident

John Mullin

economic consultant of Mullin Associates

Andrew Spaulding

president of Spaulding Investment Company, Inc.

Terry Szold

director of planning board

QUINCY

Charles D'Aprix

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Robert Eisenmenger
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David Kutner
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Daniel Fortier
Metropolitan Area Planning Council

Kent Stasiowsky
Metropolitan Area Planning Council

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